

FBIS

DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 228

26 November 1985

ALBANIA

Renowned Author Disputes Foreign Journalist B 1
[Shuteriqi in BASHKIMI 8 Nov]

BULGARIA

Secretariat Punishes Managers, High Officials C 1
Sofia University Rector Asked To Resign C 2
[TANJUG]
Reports Distort Budapest Forum Differences C 2
Machine Building Minister Arrives in Iran C 3
[Tehran]
Hungarian Economic Cooperation Upgraded C 3
BTA Chief Comments on Antonov Arrest Anniversary C 4
Zhivkov Receives Weightlifting Champion C 4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prague TV Roundtable Discusses Geneva Summit D 1
'First Hopeful Step' D 11
[Rovensky in RUDE PRAVO 22 Nov]
Reagan's Congress Speech 'Propaganda Performance' D 14
[Solecky]
Johanes Receives Rowing; Summit Outcome Discussed D 14
Husak Departs for Friendly Visit to GDR D 15
Coal, Gas Supplies Adequate for Coming Winter D 15
[Bratislava PRAVDA 14 Nov]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Jarowsky Presents SED Politburo Report E 1
Schabowski Elevated to Berlin Bezirk Leadership E 7
Biographies of New Politburo Candidates Released E 7
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23 - 24 Nov]
Honecker Reportedly To Visit FRG in 'Early Jan' E 8
[Hamburg BILD 26 Nov]
CSSR's Husak Arrives; Greeted by Honecker E 8
Stoph Meets With SFRY's Borisav Srebric E 9
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 14 Nov]
Sign Economic Protocol E 10
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16 - 17 Nov]
Economic Coordination Agreement Signed With Laos E 11

HUNGARY

Further Reportage on European Cultural Forum	F 1
West Torpedoes Communique	F 1
[Kulcsar]	
U.S. Delegate's Response [AFP]	F 2
Communique Unacceptable to Romania	F 3
Talks End Without Communique [AFP]	F 3
Soviets Comment [AFP]	F 3
Benyi Assesses Forum Talks	F 4
[MAGYAR HIRLAP 16 Nov]	
GDR Delegate on Forum	F 5
[NEPSZABADSAG 20 Nov]	
Leaders Send Anniversary Message to Angola	F 6
[MAGYAR HIRLAP 11 Nov]	

POLAND

TRYBUNA LUDU Terms Summit 'Good Beginning'	G 1
[Moszczenski, 22 Nov]	
PZPR Delegation Visits USSR, Meets With Nikonov	G 2
Further on Fourth PPR-FRG Forum 23-24 Nov	G 2
Proposed Cooperation Plans [DPA]	G 2
Security Cooperation Statement [DPA]	G 3
Messner Receives FRG Industrialist Beitz	G 4
Trade Cooperation Agreement Signed With CSSR	G 4
SFRY's Grlickov, SAWPY Delegation Visit 19-22 Nov	G 5
Talks Held With Dobraczynski	G 5
Talks Conclude [TANJUG]	G 5
Jaruzelski Receives Christian Association Head	G 5
Czyrek Hosts DFLP Delegation's Visit 18-20 Nov	G 5
Episcopate Raises Issue of Political Prisoners	G 6
[Vatican City]	
Most Released Prisoners Accused of Public Unrest	G 6
Justice Ministry Official on Amnesty Procedure	G 7
Gorywoda Discusses 1986 Plan With Journalists	G 8
Government Presidium Assesses Market Supplies	G 9
[Kassa]	
Briefs: New Contracts With Soviets	G 9

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Addresses RCP CC Plenum 14 Nov	H 1
[SCINTEIA 15 Nov]	
Ceausescu's Closing Speech	H 15
[SCINTEIA 15 Nov]	
Communique Issued on Visit by Bulgaria's Filipov	H 16
[SCINTEIA 24 Nov]	
Microhydroelectric Plants To Be Commissioned	H 18

YUGOSLAVIA

Bilic Report on LC Reorganization, Elections	I 1
SFRY, Hungary Deputy Premiers Hold Trade Talks	I 10
Executive Council Postpones Kosovo Debt Payments	I 10
[POLITIKA 15 Nov]	
Macedonian Nationalists Receive Prison Sentences	I 11

RENOWNED AUTHOR DISPUTES FOREIGN JOURNALISTS

AU231952 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 8 Nov 85 p 2

[Dhimitrer S. Shuteriqi article: "Our Dreams"]

[Excerpt] Some time ago I had the opportunity to talk to a foreign journalist. He was particularly impressed by the "stillness" of our streets. He was telling me that he "could hear the noise of silence." There was a certain mocking humor in his words. "Yes, sir", I told him, "everything roars in our country." (I did not tell him that he who "could hear the silence" had no ears to hear with.) Can't you hear the roar? There are 3 million of us and 1 million are going to school. Can't you hear the marching of these armies? If you could only hear the tracing of their pencils over paper, perhaps you might lose your hearing. "What, sir, is the size of the largest hydroelectric power plant in your superindustrialized country?" He told me a certain figure. I pursed my lips before telling him that we are building hydroelectric power plants which are as big as any in his country, and that we are designing them ourselves. His eyes seemed to pop out of their sockets when I told him about such power plants, and I replied, to his surprise, that we have one of the highest percentages of university students in the world, although we set up our university only in 1957, while old Europe did so 700 years earlier.

He sought to change the subject and wanted me to tell him how we manage without religion. I observed that I had already answered his question. Religion would have left us at the stage of primary readers -- which it was powerless to deny us, although it did try, more than once, even to the point of cursing the language that we spoke, saying that we were "falling into sin" by speaking it. That is why our ancestors publicly proclaimed Albanianism to be the religion of the Albanians over 100 years ago. Our hydroelectric power plants, which have not been blessed by any priest, are supplying electric light throughout the country. Our farm lands whose acreage has tripled, are reaching to the blue skies with their fertile terraces. This year we experienced the worst drought in decades, but we managed to fill our storerooms to the brim with grain. We had an unprecedented cotton crop, too, because Enver Hoxha transformed Albania into one of the best irrigated countries, and made it a "country of lakes." Yes, we have been dreaming about railroads, too, for a long time, futilely. Zef Jubani [Albanian poet of the renaissance period] was planning them over 100 years ago. We could see railroads crisscrossing the map of Europe, while only the goat tracks were crisscrossing each other in our country. This year, though, Vlore was linked by railroad with Shkoder, Pogradec, and Tirana; with the very center of Albania, as well as one or two distant corners. In our dreams we see them linking all corners of the country and this will become a reality one day, which will not be delayed too long, as it was delayed for Jubani. We have not yet reached speeds of 200 kilometers per hour? Don't be in a hurry, friend. We have not stopped dreaming, nor stopped planning.

SECRETARIAT PUNISHES MANAGERS, HIGH OFFICIALS

AU252043 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] The Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee has examined the results of the check carried out with the Ministry of Transport on the "Leonid Brezhnev" Economic Metallurgical Combine and on the Economic Trust "Bulgarian State Railways", in connection with certain questions raised by the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO in an editorial article dated 7 October 1985 titled "Concerning Public Duty Toward All-Nation Riches," and has established that the facts brought out concerning the wastefulness and irresponsibility displayed have been confirmed once again: The existence of goods of up to hundreds of thousands of tons, including substantial amounts of raw materials for the "Leonid Brezhnev" Economic Metallurgical Combine -- chemical products, metals, light industry and food industry products -- have been held up; the wagons are in bad technical condition; there are breaches of contractual discipline and of established technologies. All this has led to a jamming of and creation of a critical situation in the port of Burgas. The blame for not transporting the goods out in good time and their accumulation in amounts which hindered the normal operation in the port is shared by the minister of metallurgy and the minister of transport, who have failed to create the necessary coordination of transportation and have failed to seek responsibility from the relevant economic organizations and their departments. Blame is also borne by the leadership of the "Ferrous Metallurgy" Corporation, the "Leonid Brezhnev" Economic Metallurgical Combine, the Economic Trust "Bulgarian State Railways", and the "Water Transportation" Economic Trust.

In the plants' work, the mutual shifting of responsibility and a bureaucratic approach are widespread, as are insufficient initiative and measures taken too late to overcome difficulties and weaknesses.

The check established that in the departments of the "Leonid Brezhnev" Economic Metallurgical Combine, considerable basic funds are lying idle and that machines and equipment have been delivered but not installed to the amount of 90 million leva. A considerable portion of them have been lying at the site for eight or more years. Some of the machines are already morally [as heard] outdated, and there is no point in installing them. Considerable losses have been incurred not only for the combine but for the whole national economy. The violations, weaknesses, and deficiencies established are indicative of the slow readjustment of certain leading cadres to the decisions of February 1985 plenum of the BCP Central Committee and to the requirements contained in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's elaborations and in the decisions of the Politburo and Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee.

The Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee finds it necessary to dismiss from his post Lazar [Mintov], chief director of the "Leonid Brezhnev" Economic Metallurgical Combine; to reprimand (name indistinct), general director of the "Bulgarian State Railways" Economic Trust, and Khristo Minkov, director of the Burgas port complex; and to deliver a reproof to Kolyo Kolev and Yosif [Smilov], deputy ministers of metallurgy and transportation. The attention of the bureaus of the District BCP Committee in Kremikovtsi and the Primorski District BCP Committee in Burgas, as well as of the party committees of the "Leonid Brezhnev" Economic Metallurgical Combine and of the Port of Burgas is drawn to their inadequate control and reduced exigency demanded of the cadres in everything related to correctly managing and effectively utilizing the basic funds, the raw materials, other materials, and equipment.

It has been proposed to the Council of Ministers to review the issue of the equipment which has been lying around unmounted, and the idle basic funds throughout the country, and adopt additional measures for their purposeful use by simultaneously demanding relevant responsibility from the guilty state, economic and other leaders.

SOFIA UNIVERSITY RECTOR ASKED TO RESIGN

LD261053 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1258 GMT 21 Nov 85

[Text] Sofia, 21 Nov (TANJUG) -- According to reports, Sofia University Rector Academician Georgi Bliznakov was asked to relinquish this post at a meeting of the academic council held in Sofia. The reasons for this decision were not given, but the same formula was used as on the occasion of recent changes in the Bulgarian Government.

Professor (Minco Semov), who managed the university laboratory for research on the political life of Bulgarians, has been elected as the new rector.

REPORTS DISTORT BUDAPEST FORUM DIFFERENCES

AU251739 Sofia BTA in English 1506 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] Sofia, November 25 (BTA) -- The real situation in the conference room of the Cultural Forum in Budapest is radically different from that described in the Western mass media. In the reports 'leaking out' from the sessions and reaching the Western press the debates on the general issues of European culture are represented as a kind of warfare in which the West is winning one victory after another, the journalist and diplomat Khristo Santov, member of the Bulgarian delegation to Budapest, writes today in the "POGLED" weekly.

He points out that the main aim of the debates in the Hungarian capital is the seeking of new, more varied and more efficient forms of mutual communication and for a broader cultural exchange. There was almost complete unanimity on the issue of the preservation of European culture from standardization, commonplace commercialization and cosmopolitization, as well as on the necessity to activate contacts and the exchange of cultural values among the participating countries in the name of peace and enhancing trust among the peoples.

Mr. Khristo Santov notes that more than 300 proposals have been made by delegations or on behalf of men of art. Some 90 per cent of them contain concrete initiatives for promoting the contacts among the European countries.

"The overall work of the forum, Mr. Santov writes, "Especially of the working bodies at which the floor was taken mostly by men of art, showed how alien confrontation, the gross politicizing of culture and its turning into an instrument of cold war is to these people. Its work has also shown the great desire of the men of art for adequate contacts and exchange."

Mr. Khristo Santov pointed out that a number of differences emerged during the debates. "But this is quite natural for an event of this kind. This forum is the meeting place of representatives of different political systems, of different ideological and religious beliefs and of followers of different styles and schools.

"The majority of the differences faded away when the debates acquired a more concrete nature and when they dwelled on the concrete problems of creativity and the promotion of contacts and exchange," the Bulgarian delegate writes.

This positive and significant part of the work of the forum, Khristo Sandov writes, has unfortunately remained so far unmentioned by the Western mass media. On the other hand they gave extensive reports of the attempts of some of the delegations, such as those of the United States and Great Britain, for instance, to channel the work into a destructive direction and to turn the halls into a kind of trial in which they are wearing the gowns and judging according to their own laws and the socialist countries are defendants. These attempts were naturally given a just response. And it consisted mainly in the great and positive work carried out by the socialist countries in the field of culture in the ten years following the signing of the Helsinki Final Act.

MACHINE BUILDING MINISTER DOYNOV ARRIVES IN IRAN

GF250639 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] Mr Ognyan Doynov, the Bulgarian minister of machine building, leading a 20-member economic and industrial delegation, arrived in Tehran yesterday afternoon to expand grounds for cooperation between Iran and Bulgaria. On his arrival at Mehrabad Airport he was welcomed by Mr Behzad Nabavi, the heavy industry minister of our country.

In a short interview with IRNA, the heavy industry minister of our country described the objective of this visit. He said: This trip by the Bulgarian machine building minister is a follow-up to my visit last year, after which a note of mutual understanding was signed in connection with expansion of mutual industrial relations. He said: This trip is taking place 11 months after the note of mutual understanding was drawn up last year. Up to now we have reached positive and fruitful results in carrying out the contents of this note. We hope that this visit will further expand industrial cooperation between the two countries.

Mr Nabavi then noted the positive aspects of this cooperation and said: In connection with the export of various vehicles and some industrial parts from Iran to Bulgaria, discussions have taken place since last year. After examination and sending the parts, agreement was reached on the prices. We have reached rather good and positive results on this.

HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION UPGRADED

AU251806 Sofia BTA in English 1530 GMT 25 Nov 85

["Bulgaria-Hungary: Upgrade Development of Economic Relations" -- BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 25 (BTA) -- Bulgaro-Hungarian economic cooperation is undergoing an upgrade development, a proof of which is the successful implementation of the long-term trade agreement for the 1981-1985 period. The 20th session of the Bulgaro-Hungarian Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation, which started here today, expressed satisfaction over this fact.

The plenary session chaired by the co-chairman of the commission, Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, and Mr Laszlo Marothy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary, discussed issues related to the coordination of the national economy plans of the two countries in the following five-year period. Prominence was given to the problems of techno-scientific cooperation and to joint production in a number of the branches of the economy in particular, and to counter trade.

BTA CHIEF COMMENTS ON ANTONOV ARREST ANNIVERSARY

AU251356 Sofia BTA in English 1258 GMT 25 Nov

["The Trial in Rome Is of a Political Character and Aims -- Interview With Boyan Traykov" -- BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 25 (BTA) -- Three years have elapsed since the day when the Bulgarian citizen Sergey Antonov has been arrested in Rome without the slightest grounds and reasons.

This provocative act was the signal for the beginning of a planned and organized, exceptionally wide and active propaganda campaign for discrediting of socialist Bulgaria and thus to vilify socialist ideology and system on the whole, before the international public.

In connection with this ill-fated anniversary the Bulgarian radio has broadcasted an interview with Mr Boyan Traykov, director general of the BTA.

"The trial in Rome is not a juridical act, it is of a political character and aims," stressed the Bulgarian journalist.

According to him, for political reasons every effort will be made, and is made at present, for hiding the truth, for representing reality in a rather distorted light, for making the public believe the slanders, for securing conviction at any cost.

"If the trial respects the legal code, if it abides by the jurist's norms and principles, it will be only natural and inevitable to pronounce Sergey Antonov, as well as Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyu Vasilev, innocent," said Mr Boyan Traykov.

He pointed out the actions, recurrently occurring at the trial, which characterize its very essence:

1. The court proceedings have been replaced by investigation.
2. Facts and pieces of evidence exculpating the three Bulgarians, have been bypassed and have not been taken into consideration.
3. The contradictions and uncertainties in the various allegations have been interpreted in the interest of the prosecution instead of the defendants.
4. Various assumptions, hypotheses and speculations have been accepted and treated as facts and evidence.

5. The court have listened and have paid serious attention to hearsay witnesses, i.e. not witnesses having anything to do with the events, but ones, who present information heard from another.
6. Ill-manners have been displayed and witnesses have been threatened -- those who have refuted the charges, even those who have only not supported them.
7. Priority have been given to, even courting of witnesses have been displayed, if they have been expected to support the prosecution. [sentence as received] And the witnesses unmasking the version of the so-called "Bulgarian connection", have been ignored for maybe they will never be interrogated.
8. Political slogans and ideological formulations of certain reactionary circles and Western propaganda centrals have been represented as real circumstances and evidence.
9. Any other versions and connections besides the "Bulgarian connection", have been bypassed, neglected and suppressed, despite the fact that so many explicit and categorical such facts have come to light.
10. The legitimate right to counsel of the defendants has been violated.

Any of these conclusions, stated Mr Boyan Traykov, displays disregard for and violation of classic principles and norms of law, of fundamental points in the legal procedures. Evidently these violations point to a definite approach and clear purposefulness, they point to political motives and intentions. So a political ruling is due to be expected.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES WEIGHTLIFTING CHAMPION

AU141926 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 85

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Naum Shalamov, Bulgarian weight lifting champion. The champion conveyed most cordial greetings to Comrade Todor Zhivkov on behalf of national weightlifting team members, and from Ivan Abadzhiev, their trainer, and expressed sincere gratitude for the party's care devoted to sportsmen, as well as for the high praise of the world championship victory of the national weightlifting team achieved at the end of August 1985.

Our first party and state leader once more congratulated the heroic son of socialist Bulgaria for his exceptional achievements during the last two years and, in particular, at the recent world championship in Monte Carlo.

He pointed out that unrelenting striving of our weightlifting champions for high sports results is an expression of ardent patriotism and a lofty sports spirit. Comrade Zhivkov, at the end of the meeting, asked Naum Shalamanov to convey most cordial greetings to his parents, to his friends, and to his (?fellow-workers and fellow-citizens) and wished him vigorous health, success in his work, and many more successes in honor of our socialist motherland.

PRAGUE TV ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSES GENEVA SUMMIT

LD240310 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1740 GMT 23 Nov 85

[From the "Television Newsreel" program: roundtable discussion on results of Geneva summit presented by editor Miroslav Bouda, with RUDE PRAVO journalist Dusan Rovensky, Prague radio journalist Bohumil Horak, TVORBA journalist Milan Syrucek and "Television Newsreel" journalist Jiri Jambor -- journalists not identified during discussion]

[Text] [Bouda] Good evening. Along with hundreds of millions of people the world over, our public followed everything that occurred during the past few days in Geneva. We informed you about the summit meeting held between the Soviet Union and the United States, between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan through world agencies' reports, through the eyes of television cameras, which took pictures there from all over the world, as well as through the work of our reporters who worked directly in Geneva. So permit me to welcome them today in the studio and introduce to you Dusan Rovensky from RUDE PRAVO; Bohumil Horak from Czechoslovak radio; Milan Syrucek from the weekly TVORBA, and Jiri Jambor from "Television Newsreel."

Comrades, I admit that the question I am putting to you first was originally planned for last, but television viewers will undoubtedly be interested to know your deepest impressions from Geneva, I ask you to give me your brief answer.

[First speaker] I would say my deepest impression -- I came to Geneva after more than 4 years of working in the United States, where I worked in Washington as a RUDE PRAVO correspondent -- I used to attend conferences in the White House and I know very intimately the entire period when the Soviet-American relations were worsening. This is why the deepest impression made on me was that part of the joint statement that says that a nuclear war is unthinkable, that both countries must live together in peace, and that a nuclear war would mean a catastrophe. This differs substantially from what I used to hear during the past 4 years in Washington.

[Second speaker] I would like to stress that high or big politics was not the only thing that was present in Geneva; but what made the greatest impression on me was the interest of the world public in the subject of the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States. Both statesmen were getting thousands, hundreds of thousands of letters, Comrade Gorbachev stressed that these letters made a great impression on him. Jesse Jackson was there; he was also received by Comrade Gorbachev. There were veterans of the Elbe meeting there; there were representatives of the Japanese national organizations of the atomic attack on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. This simply showed that Geneva was not only a place for big politics, but that the issues discussed there truly concern the whole world.

[Third speaker] For me, it was the atmosphere of the talks. I would say above all -- there were two such moments: those first handshakes, the first words, the first eye to eye discussions, when it was being decided what kind of character the meeting would have, whether it would concentrate on nonessential details or whether the most serious problems would really be tackled; and then the conclusion of the summit, when we were sitting on Thursday afternoon in the press center and learned that there were two eye-to-eye meetings, a shorter one and the other one lasting 90 minutes, and when it was being decided what kind of concrete results would be presented to the public.

[Fourth speaker] I will say sincerely that it was the personality of Comrade Gorbachev that made the biggest impression on me. He is a political figure, who talks about the issues and knows what he wants. And all journalists assembled there acquired this impression. He won great respect. I was talking to Pierre Salinger, the late President Kennedy's press secretary. He said that a great figure was entering the international arena, and I got the feeling that President Reagan himself is aware of this and that from his personal viewpoint, too, he has found a certain relationship with Comrade Gorbachev.

[Bouda] Comrades, we have reported the views of world politicians on the results of the Geneva meeting and informed our public about them. We have published the joint press statement; we carried detailed reports from Geneva. In all commentaries an optimistic assessment prevails. It is said that this was a successful meeting. Why?

[First speaker] I think that one has to seek the answer to this question above all in the text of the joint statement. When we reflect more deeply on what the joint statement says, then in my judgment the joint statement contains principles that have been guiding Soviet foreign policy for many years. It is undoubtedly a great success that this has been accepted by the U.S. side. The statement opens up possibilities regarding those questions that are the most pressing for mankind, such as the question of the intensification of the talks on disarmament. The statement talks about contacts; cultural, scientific, and the like. This means that, naturally, if one were to measure the results from Geneva by the number of agreements signed, perhaps we would find that other events would come out more favorably in comparison with this. But we must take into account the fact that this was a summit meeting after a period of years, when international relations markedly worsened. This is therefore why I see that the main contribution of Geneva is that it is opening up the door, establishing a dialogue, and facilitating further talks, allowing for the possibility of agreements, the signing of treaties, and the like.

[Second speaker] If I may enter the discussion about the success of the conference, Comrade Gorbachev himself said at the press conference that as far as the results themselves are concerned, they are not unequivocal. It depends on what kind of criteria one has. For instance, a more substantial agreement in the disarmament questions has not been achieved. Could it have been achieved? Yes, it could have. The United States is apparently not yet ready to accede to it. But the basic fact that both these statesmen have met and laid down the beginning of a certain process -- herein this positive development, and that is what Comrade Gorbachev continued to emphasize and what President Reagan also stressed, among other things, to the Congress.

[Fourth speaker] I think that one thing has to be said here, and that is that the joint statement is the outcome of a political compromise. It shows in essence, I would say, in the present period, the readiness of the Soviet side, the (?only) side of which there can be no question, but that on the other side it shows those limits how far the United States can go at the present, where it is prepared to go. And as Comrade Rovensky and Comrade Jambor have already said here, the question of Soviet-American relations has during the past few years been literally wrapped up in many problems. Of course, these problems, which have accumulated during the past 6 and a half years, cannot be eliminated in the course of two to three days. Nonetheless, there is here truly that good start, that possible beginning of a further, let us believe, far more successful dialogue.

[Third speaker] We have grown somewhat accustomed to always making comparisons. The fact is that this was, as tallied by journalists, the 13th meeting between the highest representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union, if we take into consideration, or if we begin counting them starting with the Tehran Conference in 1943, via Helsinki, up to Vienna in 1979.

And of all these 13 various meetings, this one took place, I would say, at the most critical point in Soviet-American relations, when there were truly here those 6 and a half years. During those 6 and half years, many or the majority of those threads that had previously been built up so painstakingly in mutual relations were broken; and it is always much more difficult to build on ruins than to build on a clear land, as it was, for instance, in the meeting in 1972, when during Nixon's visit to Moscow the SALT I treaty came about.

[Bouda] A number of observers in this connection also draw attention to the question whether such a meeting, without us wanting to lessen its importance, could overcome what occurred to the meeting itself. There are the well-known statements made by the President himself, that communism is an error of mankind, and so forth. Will these tendencies not cease to operate?

[First speaker] I think that we cannot place greater demands on one meeting, which lasted in practice only 2 days or, let us say 2 and a half days, if we include the signing of the document, then it can fulfill. If the serious consequences of the past 6 years are to be eliminated, all this needs time. I think personally, and a number of facts that exist bear this out, that U.S. foreign policy has naturally not changed in its principal features. It is, of course, changing in one (essential) respect. In my judgment, it is changing in that they have apparently come to the view that it is necessary to respect certain realities, which was previously not the case. I remember a number of press conferences, for instance, in the White House or in the State Department, when formulations and statements were made which were totally at variance with acknowledging the Soviet Union as an equal partner.

[Second speaker] They purport this only verbally. They will have to prove it in practice that they intend to recognize this reality.

[Third speaker] Exactly. I believe that even (here) this question has not been (resolved unequivocally). This was in the end essentially manifested during the Geneva meeting itself when the release of Weinberger's letter was timed to appear shortly before the Geneva meeting. This means that one can see that not only within the U.S. Administration, but even at the very top of it, there is no agreement or consensus on how to approach talks with the Soviet Union, how to approach the disarmament questions. For instance, as McFarlane attempted to explain at the press conference in Geneva, how could it have happened that the world public had learned through an indiscretion about the letter.

[Second speaker] Of course, the question is why this letter could have been written at all, and why it could have been sent to the U.S. President. Herein lies the core of the matter.

[Fourth speaker] I would say that the singularity of the Geneva meeting lies in the fact that its original concept was a meeting of two delegations. And at the end, the crux of the whole meeting was the tete-a-tete talks that went on if, I am not mistaken, for 300 minutes. And as Comrade Gorbachev described these talks later, all nonessential details were put aside; the aim was to discover the most substantial thing -- each other's way of thinking. And in seeking their common point of contact rests a partial reply to this question.

[Bouda] Comrade Gorbachev said at the press conference that he could comprehend the U.S. President's view on the "star wars" program as the opinion of an ordinary citizen. However, the views of President Reagan ought to be seen as those of a man with an exceptional responsibility for the destiny of mankind. Do you think that Comrade Gorbachev succeeded in changing in some way the view of the U.S. President of "star wars", which he was pushing so vehemently?

[Third speaker] My personal opinion is that he did not succeed in changing the thinking of President Reagan with regard to "star wars." What he possibly did change was the most substantial thing which Comrade Gorbachev emphasized to him all the time. He said that this is a personal view of President Reagan and that he is able to understand this, but this is quite a different kettle of fish. This was very well commented on by Academician Arbatov when he said that the way to failure is usually paved with pure intentions. This is one of the big secrets of politics, because politicians are responsible not only for themselves but for a much wider group of people, for the fate of states and societies. And in this area I think President Reagan did not change his view, but he was perhaps influenced by (?what Comrade Gorbachev continuously stressed): The world has reached such a state that neither the United States nor the USSR are able to carry out plans and ignore the other side. [Words indistinct] as Comrade Gorbachev said that we must learn to live together. And he continued with a sentence which (?could be thought to be the core of the matter). I mean that in the current situation this is not only a confrontation of two social systems, but it is also a choice between survival and mutual destruction. Here, in my view, Comrade Gorbachev succeeded in raising the issue with President Reagan that it is impossible to act in international relations and, in particular, in weighty issues of security, without regard for the other side. And the problem of "star wars" is a matter in which the interests of the other side and practically the interests of the whole world have not been taken into consideration. Here, I think Comrade Gorbachev perhaps succeeded in throwing some doubts on whether the road President Reagan wants to follow is the right one. However, I cannot give you a clear-cut answer to this question.

[Second speaker] It is a fact that when U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz gave his press conference -- it ran concurrently with Comrade Gorbachev's press conference at 1100 on Thursday -- and he was asked this question, he was keeping the back door open by saying that although U.S. ideas on the utility of the whole system are not changed, they will again consider the basic question of how could it influence other areas, and that they would do some research and only later give the final answer on whether the United States will follow this or other way.

[First speaker] I think that although what Milan Syrucek is saying is correct, the whole thing ought to be seen in a broader perspective. What matters is not only a personal view of President Reagan, and whether he is convinced that this is a way out of the current strategic situation. There are a number of other interests that matter. The power base of the right-wing Republicans and President Reagan is mainly in California and in Texas; that is, in those parts of the United States which have connections with the space industry and with the electronics industry. It must be said openly, I have visited [words indistinct]. These are groups with certain interests and these interests are naturally shifting: I do not know, Jirka, whether you agree with me. If the center of interests of the U.S. capital shifts to the West Coast, then it is a result and a proof of this too. This means that Reagan's views, and the views of his administration which represents the interests of some groups, must be seen in this context. He naturally could be (?personally) for the plan of "star wars," but other deeper connections are hidden behind this.

[Fourth speaker] By the way, it is interesting that the whole previous team of U.S. politicians, for example from the Nixon era, people like Nixon or MacNamara, are against the plan of "star wars." On their side are also three representatives of a part of the Pentagon who have different ideas on advancing the U.S. Army and making use of weapons under development.

[Second speaker] [words indistinct] Quite an unusual event took place in the United States: Generals from the Pentagon protested in a letter to the President against the "star wars" plan.

However, it was not because (?they did not think it morally right). Their reasoning was that they thought that those billions could be used in a different way elsewhere.

[Third speaker] I want to recall one interesting moment: Some U.S. and Western journalists were quite pessimistic before the opening of the Geneva meeting. They did not believe in too great a success. Their pessimism was based on their knowledge of the Reagan administration's views on a number of issues. This was perhaps the reason why they wrote about surprising changes in the first day. Naturally, the question arises: Who has found this change surprising? It definitely was not surprising for the Soviet side. It was a surprise for the U.S. journalists, who were surprised by this metamorphosis, to a certain extent, of the Reagan administration's views.

[Bouda] The world press points out the speed with which the representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO were familiarized with the results of this conference. And not only the speed but also the fact that both these groups assessed the results of the Geneva meeting positively. Does it mean that the Geneva spirit has started to penetrate international relations?

[First speaker] I think that there is one basic difference between the Warsaw Pact states, which supported the Soviet standpoint from the very beginning and gave their united consent to the Soviet standpoint formulated by Comrade Gorbachev, and the NATO states, which are far from being united. Take, for example, France: It was not President Mitterrand who was in Brussels but Foreign Minister Dumas.

[Fourth speaker] Francois Mitterrand however, welcomed the results at a press conference in Paris. He called them hopeful.

[First speaker] On the other hand the fact that Mitterrand did not go to Paris has a certain meaning.

[Third speaker] This might have something to do with the relations between the members of NATO.

[Second speaker] Now as to the question of whether the spirit of Geneva has started to penetrate -- It is naturally not possible to pass judgments on the basis of 2 days...

[First speaker interrupting] I think that the answer to this question cannot be given yet because it is too early to make conclusions and, secondly, we have to see the practical steps of the U.S. foreign policy. As far as I know they had some plans for (?this fall) on certain tests of systems which are related to the construction of the system of technical weapons. If this will really take place, then naturally the issue of the U.S. identification with the spirit of Geneva would be rather problematic. Should research reach the stage or preparations of space systems, this would show that this would go against the spirit of Geneva.

[Second speaker] I think that this shows one fact: In spite of existing differences, political and ideological, in spite of existing rivalry which naturally would continue in different spheres, one question comes to the foreground: that is to maintain the process which we have called the process of detente since the Helsinki conference and what we have always been stressing. This is a vital interest of all involved parties because we are living in such a critical era, in such a state of possible confrontation that would grow into such risks that it is in a vital interest of all parties not to overstep certain limits.

And if Geneva is an example that even in such a critical situation it is possible to sit behind a round table -- or actually a rectangular table, which was brought from the United States especially for the occasion -- naturally the shape of the table is not that important -- most important is the fact that...

[Third speaker, interrupting] The main talks were allegedly held by the fireside.

[Second speaker] The main talks were held by an open fireplace! But most important of all is the fact that the possibility of a dialogue was discovered.

[Fourth speaker] To be realistic, I agree with Dusan that it all depends on further development. I therefore think that we should maintain no illusions that this process would be smooth. [sentence indistinct] For example, let us look at this rather interesting issue: the joint declaration signed or agreed upon by the U.S. President and the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary says, and this is in my view very important, that neither side will seek military superiority. If this were to be taken really seriously, this would mean an important turning point in U.S. policy. Let us recall that the platform of the Republican Party demands superiority. And even if we forget the platform -- after all, the President can say "I had nothing in common with the platform or only very little" -- we could recall his statements about "margin of safety", about the opportunity to be safer than the others. Now we have this new formulation. Someone could say that Shultz signed 6 months ago that talks would be held about averting spreading weapons in outer space and we could see now the course of the Geneva meeting. [sentence as heard] Therefore, I think that we must be very careful and realistic. But I can see some movement in the fact that the U.S. side is starting to think that there are some objective causes that link the USSR and the United States together. These are the issues of space, the Third World, and ecological problems.

[First speaker] I fully agree with you. Let us recall the TV transmission from the U.S. Congress, where Reagan was submitting a report on the Geneva meeting shortly after his arrival in Washington and how the Congress reacted: its agreement was very, very obvious. Both sides were clapping -- Republicans as well as Democrats. This means that a certain part of the U.S. political representation is aware of some objective interests which they cannot ignore. Washington, however, remains Washington. It is simply a city not only of Congress but of lobbyists too, and lobbyists are the representatives of the firms which take part in space research and in space armament are, after all, the richest.

[Third speaker] One U.S. journalist has even told me that it can be expected in the near future that somebody or something in the United States will try to find a pretext to destroy the atmosphere in the United States which has prevailed there ever since Geneva.

[Fourth speaker] I think that, too, to some extent Weinberger's letter illustrates this. The issue is, however, different. I agree with what has been said here, but I think that the U.S. side cannot afford not to respect public opinion at least to some extent. Let us think of Geneva itself: The Geneva press called it a propaganda war; the war of words preceding the opening of the meeting. I think that it clearly came out to the advantage of the USSR. There were 15 top specialists, twelve of them academicians. De facto, the Americans obviously underated this propaganda effect. Even the Geneva press (?had to recognize it). The first who spoke at a press conference was Robert McFarlane. When it was published, it was fully under the influence of the convincing, essentially Soviet arguments.

[Third speaker] After all, if we went a bit further back, even Comrade Gorbachev's journey to France and previous proposals were judged by the Western press as a Gorbachev victory in the first round before Geneva.

[Bouda] Let's talk about one of the highest points of the Geneva meeting -- Comrade Gorbachev's press conference. Why do I want to talk about this? It had been guessed that a joint press conference would be organized, then there were rumors that there would be two independent press conferences, one for President Reagan, one for Comrade Gorbachev. At the end only Comrade Gorbachev held a press conference. The U.S. press conference was given by Secretary of State Shultz. What did the journalists in Geneva think about this press conference? What were their first immediate impressions? You were there, you could tell us something about it.

[First speaker] I was there and I want to say one thing: Journalists highly praised the fact that the announcement about the press conference by Comrade Gorbachev was made sufficiently early, 24 hours beforehand, while the other side did not say until the last minute who and when will speak at the press conference, or where it would be held. And when we compare the two press conferences, the press conference of Secretary Shultz was a weak concoction in all its aspects.

[Second speaker] When I worked in London I became a close acquaintance of BBC-TV commentator Peter Small, who had put a question to Comrade Gorbachev and received an answer to it. He is a very influential British commentator. He told me afterward that he was very impressed at the press conference by the immediacy of Mr Gorbachev's replies, his reactions, his sincerity, and that he left no question unanswered.

[Fourth speaker] I sat next to WASHINGTON POST correspondents and they told me that they were quite shocked by the fact that Comrade Gorbachev spoke without any notes; that he reacted with a certain humor to the situation at the conference -- for example, the incident with the glass of water -- and altogether by his relaxed and convincing tone...

[Third speaker, interrupting] The tone was relaxed, but it was very firm.

[Fourth speaker] Yes, very firm. Then we discussed it with some other U.S. journalists at the U.S. press center where they were sending telexes to Washington, Los Angeles, and, New York. I saw the texts and headlines: there was one superlative after the other: surprising, masterful, authoritative, well-defined standpoints, and so on.

[Second speaker] All journalists thought that the press conference was a great success. Definitely.

[Bouda] While we are talking about the atmosphere in Geneva, what kind of impression did Raisa Gorbachev make on the Swiss, and on the journalists from the world?

[First speaker] The wife of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was from the very outset the center of attention, exceptional attention both of the Swiss and the world media and, naturally, of the Geneva population because within the framework of her program Comrade Raisa Gorbachev visited some Geneva families; she visited a library which Vladimir Ilich Lenin used to frequent during his stay in Geneva. And naturally Western journalists, above all those journalists who represented the sensation-seeking press, paid attention to recall all aspects, which means not only the real aspects of her program but also, for instance, the question of fashion, what Comrade Raisa Gorbachev was wearing, the question of cosmetics, the question of her conduct.

They paid attention to the fact of whether she speaks English. They highly appreciated this fact. So this was not merely a program within the framework, I would say, of that human aspect, but it was a program that went beyond, touching on to another plane.

[Second speaker] I would say that for a certain section, not an insignificant section of Western society, which judges a number of political phenomena in different connections, this means a political mission. They judged wider issues accordingly. And there are many such people in Switzerland; there are many of them in America, above all. So this was a truly diplomatic mission.

[Third speaker] In our contact with Western journalists, they frequently reproach us for seeing things in the Western world only in certain cliches, and say that we do not understand all those various complexities, and that we look at things through the spectacles of certain cliches. I think that in what Comrade Raisa Gorbachev said, she destroyed certain cliches about her notions about the socialist world and about its representatives.

[Bouda] Comrades, let us return to the talks themselves. President Reagan, before they began, pointed out several times that he saw their center of gravity in the resolution -- no, not in the resolution, but in the raising of regional issues and the human rights issues, while the press statement itself contains only one sentence about these issues. One might therefore think that these issues were not even discussed.

[Fourth speaker] Indeed, there is one sentence in the final statement which, as I am looking at it here, if you will excuse me, at the English text, so that I am going to translate it only roughly, which says that there was an exchange of views at the level of experts on these questions, that the exchange of views proved to be useful, and that an agreement was reached to continue the exchange of views on a regular basis. It is no secret, and we all knew this in Geneva, that the U.S. delegation arrived with their certain, I would say, views on the ways the so-called regional issues, such as the situation in the conflict areas of the world, should be discussed. The essence of the U.S. view lies in that they in effect claim that the emerging revolutionary movements are not the result of social and economic processes that are taking place in society, but that they are by the hand of Moscow. However, they did not succeed in pushing through this view. I would like to say that according to information circulating in journalistic circles, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee adopted a very clear and uncompromising stance in this regard.

[Third speaker] He conveyed this stand also at the press conference afterward.

[Second speaker] Yes, some views also emerged about the conditioning, the "tying" of the so-called solution of regional conflicts with general issues, which the Soviet side naturally also rejected as it did in the past; for instance, in 1972 when Nixon together with Kissinger also raised a similar matter.

[Third speaker] In essence, one can say they agreed that there was certain mechanism for the further course of action in tackling these problems...

[Second speaker] As Comrade Gorbachev said at the press conference, he tried to convince President Reagan that in tackling or approaching these issues, due regard must be given to the overall development of the international (?situation), its fundamental supporting pillar concerning above all the questions of security.

[Fourth speaker] This is a very correct observation to change views in these issues is very complicated because this is connected not only simply with the understanding of international relations, but with the belief itself, the ideology itself.

[First speaker] I think, however, that here it is not possible to lose two things from sight. In the first place, the fact the meetings between Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan were dominated by the questions connected with the prevention of the militarization of space, questions concerning arms limitation and reduction and that on the other hand, despite the fact that the questions of regional conflicts were discussed -- despite this, different stands remain on them between both sides.

[Second speaker] I think, not to put it too finely, I even think that the notion with which the U.S. side came to the summit meeting, rather from the some kind propaganda-political viewpoint [words indistinct as another speaker interrupts] to do out of this center of gravity then it was clearly swept away. [as heard] I do not want to say by this, and Comrade Gorbachev pointed at this himself, to underestimate the importance of regional conflicts; but it is necessary to place them within the context of the international situation, the overall development of international relations.

[Third speaker] With an interest.

[Fourth speaker] Yes, with an interest.

[Second speaker] And I believe one more idea that was also said, which is closely connected with regional problems: that is the idea that the planet cannot be regarded as being any country's own territory.

[Bouda] Comrades, comments on concrete results from the Geneva talks -- for instance, also in view of the ongoing talks, whether they are the Vienna ones or in Stockholm, and others.

[Second speaker] As far as the concrete results are concerned, in the sense that certain agreements were adopted, it is above all the agreement on exchanges in the sphere of culture, education, the teaching of languages, that is, Russian and English on one and the other side...

[Fourth speaker, interrupting] This is the agreement signed by the foreign ministers.

[Second previous speaker] Yes, then there is a consular agreement on the establishment of new consulates in New York and Kiev. Then there is an agreement on air transportation; in effect, two such agreements, one in the area, the northern area of the Pacific and in civil aviation, the restoration in practice of the Aeroflot flights to Washington and New York and the restoration of the Pan American Airlines flights to Moscow. And as far the individual ongoing talks are concerned, such as the Geneva talks between the United States and Soviet Union on space and nuclear weapons, the Stockholm Disarmament in Europe, the Vienna talks on arms and armed forces reduction in Central Europe, instructions have been given that discussions there are to be constructive and accelerated with the aim of achieving positive results. At the same time, Gorbachev, when making an assessment at the close of the conference, said one thing: If the United States understands the Soviet stand on the question of "star wars," the Soviet Union is prepared for far-reaching measures in the areas of the reduction of armaments and at the same time is willing for far-reaching measures as far as the inspection is concerned, including international inspection on its territory.

[Third speaker] I regard what is contained in the document as an expression of the political will. There can, of course, be a considerable difference between the expression of political will and facts, or between it and a concrete course of action of the American delegation.

[Fourth speaker] Whether the American stands will change at these negotiating forums only time will tell.

[First speaker] Someone might say that there was no need for the heads of the states to meet to conclude the agreements you have just listed here. This is why I still think that the most concrete agreement is the joint statement.

[Second speaker] I am of the same impression.

[First speaker] By its significance, by its significance and the content of issues, some very important issues, which in my view were still unacceptable only a few years back, have been embedded there.

[Fourth speaker] And it was not fortuitous that the recent meeting of the Warsaw Pact representatives emphasized and concentrated on the resolution of these issues.

[First speaker] It is an attempt to renew and revitalize political dialogue on various levels and what is very important is the fact that the dialogue, which will be continuing, ought to be continued on the highest level. This means the pending trip by Comrade Gorbachev to the United States and by this American President to the Soviet Union. However, one side of the coin is that the United States does not possess any elaborated, realistic, or constructive program. The other side of the coin is marked by more than 120 various proposals made by the Soviet Union at various forums; the proposals aimed at arms reduction, disarmament, strengthening of peace and international security, that there exists a number of unilateral undertakings, various moratoriums. Shall we also mention the latest proposals made by Comrade Gorbachev at the French parliament. The nonexistence of a comprehensive American program means that for some time in the period to come there will still be a number of question marks -- namely, on the American side.

[Third speaker] I think that the entire course of the meeting and talks, which lasted 2 days and exceeded the time originally planned, has to be assessed above all from the viewpoint and angle of how they contributed to the main task faced jointly by the Soviet Union and the United States -- that is, the task to do something which will allow the continuation of life on this planet, which will lead to both systems learning to live side by side, as emphasized by Comrade Gorbachev at the press conference.

[Fourth speaker] I am certain -- it is of course not the first big international conference; we went to Helsinki, I remember the opening of talks in 1972 on Arab security and cooperation. Each such event creates certain expectations, certain hopes. I personally am of the opinion that the future will tell. But in any case -- in any case -- the fact that after 6 years the dialogue has commenced between the highest representatives on issues, not secondary but of substance, is a big thing. From this view point I am certain, irrespective of the United States' evaluations of this situation, that the very fact of this historic meeting will become a part of history.

[Second speaker] This meeting represents a beginning of further dialogue, or, to be precise, possible dialogue -- as far as the United States will adhere in principle to participating in this dialogue, because the Soviet Union's approach is, I think, indisputable.

Future dialogue will contribute to the most fundamental aspect -- that is, to rid mankind of the threat of nuclear war, to strengthen peace and international security.

[First speaker] The dialogue was unavoidable, for if the development so far, if the 'qualitative' arms buildup continues, then a point of no return in this arms build-up development would be reached; this means that any kind of negotiations would become impossible or very difficult, because they would not be verifiable and because there would be no further prerequisites of how to [word indistinct].

[Third speaker] If you recall, this is the very question emphasized by Mikhail Gorbachev during the press conference.

[First speaker] Yes, when saying that a certain boundary exists beyond which the arms race would enter such a stage where it would be impossible to control.

[Third speaker] And this critical period which was entered into by the world is precisely the period that we are now discussing here, we can say the pre-Geneva period.

[Fourth speaker] When answering this question, I was just thinking of what to say -- but I came to the conclusion that I will express only my personal, subjective feeling. But one has seen enough and has a certain imagination. I have a personal feeling that a good move was made, a move that has a chance to succeed. I personally applaud it.

[Bouda] Comrades, let me thank you for your participation in our discussion.

'First Hopeful Step'

AU251508 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Nov 85 p 4

[Geneva dispatch by Dusan Rovensky, special RUDE PRAVO correspondent: "The First Step..."]

[Text] The political commentators who arrived in the city on the shores of Lake Geneva from many countries in the world all agree that the concluding day of the Geneva meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan was not the end but actually the beginning of a complicated dialogue. Such is also the sense of the declarations voiced on Thursday [21 November] by both sides.

The joint declaration was being prepared far into the early hours of the morning; and in the international press center, too, the windows were alight throughout the night. The large conference hall of the international center, which assembled several hundred of the total of more than 3,000 accredited journalists, was also festively decorated for the final ceremony.

However, the festive atmosphere does not for a moment hide the fact that a complicated and difficult dialogue has in fact taken place in Geneva. But Mikhail Gorbachev's words undoubtedly resound with the conviction that even at present, when the world has reached the very edge of a conflict through the fault of U.S. policy, there exists scope for a dialogue held in peace, and the possibility for improving relations between the two countries.

The politicians' responsibility for making the world take the road toward peace, and not toward war, was yet another thought which resounded with particular emphasis from his speech.

Responsibility for mankind's fate, for the fate of civilization -- that is the basic principle followed by the Soviet delegation for the whole of the 2 difficult days of the Geneva dialogue. It acted thus in the spirit of the best traditions always followed by Soviet foreign policy.

I have also noted on my journalist's pad the thought uttered by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary that, even though the world is going through a complicated period in which Soviet-U.S. relations have perhaps deteriorated more than at any other time in the entire period of existence of the two powers, it is nevertheless possible to improve these relations. One must be realistic, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in speaking of the results of the meeting. After the many years when many obstacles had accumulated in the relations of the two countries through the fault of the ruling U.S. circles, one cannot expect changes to take place overnight. But the first step has been taken. The chance offered by the meeting on the shores of Lake Geneva should not be wasted.

Naturally, only the future will show whether the United States will make use of the offered opportunity and whether it will be willing to fulfill the words of the joint declaration by practical deeds.

The joint declaration reflects with sufficient clarity the entire complicated nature of the situation in which the dialogue was held. It expresses the fact that the top representative of the socialist country which embodies the longings of peace-loving mankind had sat at the round table; and that his partner in negotiations was the representative of the most powerful imperialist state, chief of a government which is primarily promoting the interests of the military-industrial complex.

The joint declaration is a significant international-political, but also bilateral, document which makes the road forward possible. It provides the possibility to take further steps after the first positive step. Here, too, it is understandable that this does not depend on the Soviet Union alone, but that it also depends on its partner in the Geneva negotiations.

The joint communique realistically reflects the current state of Soviet-American relations. It stresses that the extensive discussions in the course of the meeting included the basic issues of the international situation. It recalls that the talks were frank and useful; but at the same time it does not conceal that serious differences of opinion continue to exist, even on a number of essential issues. But the important thing is, the declaration emphasizes, that it is necessary to continue the dialogue, and to do so on all levels, including the highest level. The information has been doing the rounds among local journalist circles that Mikhail Gorbachev would visit the United States in 1986 -- one even gives the month as June; and that the U.S. President is to go to Moscow in 1987. It is being stated that, in harmony with the declaration, a group of experts have already left the United States for Moscow to discuss the reopening of direct air communications between the United States and the USSR which, let us note, were blocked some time ago by the U.S. Government. It is being pointed out that the disarmament negotiations in Geneva are to be reopened in the middle of January in the spirit of the summit talks.

For the last 4 years I have been working as RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Washington. I witnessed how U.S.-Soviet relations were rapidly deteriorating, and how the Reagan government was impairing and literally breaking up one U.S. Soviet treaty after another. On the radio and on television, as well as during the press conferences in the White House, I was direct witness to the numerous attacks against the Soviet Union.

In the U.S. press I read statements by American statesmen on how "there are more important things than peace," or even the bragging declaration that the United States would win any nuclear war. Now I have an even deeper regard for the thought contained in the joint declaration: "A nuclear war cannot be won, and it must never be conducted." I have the same regard for another thought, too: "Any conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States would have catastrophic consequences."

These thoughts are not new for the Soviet Union. Soviet foreign policy has been fighting for their realization these many decades. But if these thoughts appear in a document connected with the authority of the top U.S. representative, then it is proof of the force and realism of Soviet diplomacy.

It is a pity that the U.S. side has not agreed to the Soviet proposals in the sphere of armament reduction, and above all to the guarantees which were and are aimed at preventing the militarization of space. The chances for peace could have been firmer and the prospects for the peaceful competition of states with different social systems better.

However, even so -- and despite the fact that it was not possible to achieve in Geneva all that the Soviet Union was striving to achieve -- there is no doubt that the meeting was a world event of the first order; that it contributed toward re-opening the dialogue which the United States had interrupted in the past, and that a dialogue enhances the chances of peace.

The staccato of photo cameras which accompanied the entire solemn ceremony was stepped up when the two ministers of foreign affairs were signing the joint declaration. And it increased even more when the top representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States shook hands. That was a most significant moment, even if nobody means to overrate the ritual of the festive ceremony.

After the festive final act, Geneva witnessed yet another significant event of the day -- the press conference of Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The U.S. President decided otherwise. He did not convene a press conference in Geneva.

I sat in one of the first rows, a few steps from the platform and from the chairman's table. Although the large hall in the building of the Soviet mission to the United Nations can hold several hundred people, it was full to the brim. All the television networks, newspapers, and radio stations which have some meaning in the world of international journalism had their correspondents in the place.

During the past 3 days the world press which assembled in Geneva could again convince itself what an alert [pohotovyy], meaningful [obsazny], and frank speaker the CPSU Central Committee general secretary is. The correspondents of the communications media from all over the world were not disappointed this time, either. Mikhail Gorbachev analyzed deeply the processes that are taking place in the world, and he drew conclusions which follow from them for interstate relations. He spoke calmly and in a businesslike manner. But how weighty was his every word, his every thought.

Let us take, for instance, the following thought: If there is a thing that characterizes the present phase, then it is above all, the immense responsibility of the governments, of every politician.

Or, let us take his words about the world undergoing a difficult period in its history, when it is imperative to take resolute steps so that mankind would not perish in the conflagration of a nuclear war.

After the general secretary's opening words, which were received with enormous interest, there followed dozens of questions. They concerned the most complicated and burning issues. And we heard an exhaustive and comprehensive reply to them all. Comrade Gorbachev spoke frankly and in a businesslike manner. He did not conceal the difficulties, problems, and discrepancies. But in the first place he expressed the hope that this first hopeful step of the Geneva meeting would be followed by others.

REAGAN'S CONGRESS SPEECH 'PROPAGANDA PERFORMANCE'

LD221417 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 22 Nov 85

[New York correspondent Vladimir Solecky report]

[Text] President Reagan's speech in the U.S. Congress, in which he delivered a report on the results of the Geneva summit meeting, was arranged as a great propaganda performance. Reporters recalled that President Nixon organized his return from Moscow in a similar way in 1972 when he returned with signed agreements which laid the foundations for the period of detente. Ronald Reagan could only give a more modest account, but it is clear that also from his viewpoint the Geneva meeting could be a very good beginning to a new period of Soviet-American relations, particularly because it made a significant contribution to better understanding of mutual positions. It was constructive to the extent that President Reagan will host Mikhail Gorbachev next year in the United States, and for the following year he has accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Union. The dialogue which should contribute to more marked progress in solving problems will therefore continue.

When describing the specific round of questions discussed in Geneva, whether it was the regional conflicts, the U.S. President regrettably took refuge in his old propagandist approach and vocabulary which cannot contribute to mutual understanding. It is clear that through this language he was paying the dues to the right-wing conservative circles who from the start considered the Geneva summit as a thorn in the flesh.

JOHANES RECEIVES ROWNY; SUMMIT OUTCOME DISCUSSED

LD231838 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 23 Nov 85

[Text] Jaromir Johanes, deputy minister of foreign affairs, received Edward Rowny, special advisor to the U.S. President and secretary of state, and an ambassador, in Prague. Edward Rowny arrived in Prague in order to report on the United States' assessment of the course and results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Geneva. During the conversation the usefulness and beneficial character of the Geneva meeting were noted. The Czechoslovak side expressed its full support for the constructive position taken in Geneva by the Soviet Union in the spirit of the common strategy of Warsaw Pact countries.

HUSAK DEPARTS FOR FRIENDLY VISIT TO GDR

LD261143 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 26 Nov 85

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, left by air for a friendly working visit to the GDR. The visit is taking place at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State.

Gustav Husak is accompanied by Svatopluk Potac, deputy federal prime minister and chairman of the State Planning Commission. The entourage further consists of: Jaroslav Macek, director of a CPCZ Central Committee department [name and title as heard] Frantisek Salda, chief of the Chancellery of the President, and Frantisek Chlad, deputy director of a CPCZ Central Committee Department [International Affairs Department].

Comrade Gustav Husak was seen off at the Ruzyně Airport in Prague by Vasil Bilakm, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Josef Hamaň, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Michal Stefanak, director of a CPCZ Central Committee Department [International Affairs Department], Vratislav Vajnar, federal minister of interior. Helmut Ziebart, ambassador of the GDR to the CSSR was also present.

COAL, GAS SUPPLIES ADEQUATE FOR COMING WINTER

AU180948 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Nov 85 p 2

[CTK report: "Preparedness for the Winter"]

[Text] A total of 4.5 million metric tons of brown coal and 1.5 million metric tons of bituminous coal were in storage at Czechoslovak steam power stations before the onset of winter. These reserves, the largest in history, will not decline below 5.2 million metric tons of coal till the end of the year, which is enough for smooth electricity production in the winter months, Nuclear power stations are also well prepared; they have the greatest share in desirable increments in electricity production. These and other facts were mentioned by Vlastimil Ehrenberger, CSSR minister of fuels and power, at a press conference yesterday devoted to the preparedness of his sector for the coming winter. In connection with coal extraction he said, among other things, that at present miners exceed the coal production plan by 355,000 metric tons; by the end of the year, they would like to supply a total of 700,000 metric tons in excess of the planned amount. The situation in preparatory work for extraction in open-pit mines is also good. Natural gas storage tanks contain some 1.8 billion cubic meters of gas, roughly the same amount as last year before the winter.

JAROWINSKY PRESENTS SED POLITBURO REPORT

LD221909 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1626 GMT 22 Nov 85

["From the Politburo Report to the 11th Session of the SED Central Committee" -- ADN heading]

[Text] Berlin, 22 Nov (ADN) -- The decisions of the SED Central Committee in preparation of the 11th party congress have in every respect proved to be a correct and effective strategic guideline and have led to a significant upsurge in all spheres of the GDR's social life. This is stated in the Politburo report to the 11th session of the SED Central Committee, presented by Werner Jarowsky, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee. These decisions mark the basic direction, content, and style of party work; they have deeply penetrated the consciousness of the people and have become the object of the efforts of millions of working people.

The GDR working people are doing their utmost to continue the party's policy of further shaping a developed socialist society. The political leadership of society by the SED has again proved itself; it has been strengthened and improved. The GDR has become even more firmly anchored in the socialist community of states, and the fraternal alliance with the USSR and its Communist Party is unshakable. The GDR's international standing and its contribution to the struggle for security and peace have increased considerably. The course of the main task, the economic and social policy aimed at the welfare of the people, is being resolutely continued.

In foreign policy, the preparation for the 11th SED Congress is linked with a distinct intensification of the activities of our party and our state to avert the danger of a nuclear war, to prevent the militarization of space, to check and reverse the arms race on earth, the report states.

As a factor for peace in central Europe, the GDR has brought its recognized prestige, its growing influence, its full weight to bear in order to shape international relations in the spirit of peaceful coexistence and detente. Within the framework of the coordinated peace strategy of the socialist community we regard the active policy of constructive dialogue, which is having a visible effect, as our concrete contribution to a change for the better, the speaker said. Precisely at this time of insecurity and instability in international relations, a stable, dynamically developing GDR on the dividing line between the two largest military coalitions and its constructive, predictable peace policy is of far-reaching importance.

The party's endeavors are aimed at creating favorable external conditions for the further shaping of developed socialist society, for preserving peace, and further limiting the maneuvering room of the most aggressive imperialist circles. It is necessary to deepen the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the CPSU and to expand the alliance with the states in the socialist community. Every opportunity must be utilized to promote better mutual understanding and trust in relations with the capitalist states, particularly in Europe, and to lend fresh impetus to detente and peaceful cooperation. Anti-imperialist solidarity with all peoples and states fighting for their national independence and social progress must be strengthened, cooperation with the communist parties, with national-democratic parties and movements, with socialist and social-democratic parties must be further developed and the mass movement for peace and disarmament must be promoted.

Jarowinsky pointed to Honecker's remarks about the Geneva summit. Now it is a matter of strengthening the struggle for the preservation of peace on the basis of what has been achieved so far. The program of disarmament policy measures submitted by the USSR and the initiatives contained in the Sofia declaration offer a great chance to mankind for world security and peace, the speaker said. They meet with unanimous support among our people.

Between the SED and the CPSU, between the GDR and the Soviet Union, there is total agreement in all questions of the building of socialism and of international policy. In all spheres of social life their pursuit of the common cause has become closer and more fruitful. This is particularly evident in the immediate preparations for the 11th party congress. The GDR and the USSR stand side-by-side in the struggle for peace and socialism. Relations with the other states of the socialist community are also being developed and consolidated. Jarowinsky pointed to Honecker's talks in Hungary and Yugoslavia, to the forthcoming meetings with Wojciech Jaruzelski and Gustav Husak, and to meetings between Politburo members in Bulgaria, Romania and the DPRK. New steps have been undertaken to further develop the relations between the GDR and the PRC.

At pains to contribute actively to an improvement of the international climate and to encourage the bringing about of a coalition of reason and realism, we are seeking dialogue with all those who possess power and influence and who bear political responsibility, the report says. In numerous talks with leading European politicians, including those from NATO, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee has performed and is performing great and internationally highly regarded work to make relations between the states stable and trusting.

Erich Honecker's state visit to Greece and the meeting with the Finnish prime minister in Berlin were weighty contributions to peace, detente, and fruitful cooperation between the states and peoples. They clearly illustrated the vitality of peaceful coexistence.

Jarowinsky said that the Politburo regards the "Framework for an Agreement for the Establishment of a Chemical Weapons-Free Zone in Europe" jointly elaborated and published by SED and SPD [Social Democratic Party] working groups, as an effective contribution to reducing confrontation in Europe. This initiative proves that despite different political and ideological positions in principle it is possible to find common viable ways.

The GDR Government proposes that authorized representatives of the foreign ministries of the GDR, the FRG and the CSSR, parallel to the talks at the Geneva disarmament conference, start consultations on all issues connected with the establishment of a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe. Such an agreement, which would be open to entry to other states, would also be suitable for making a constructive contribution to detente, disarmament, and trust in Europe.

The report says: In the shaping of relations with the FRG the safeguarding of peace is the overriding question. We believe that no additional strains on the situation in Europe must emanate from relations between the two German states, but rather impulses for peaceful and trusting cooperation. The Politburo sees this as an important contribution to all-European cooperation, which is of an importance which should not be underestimated for the climate in Europe and also beyond our continent.

Neither the GDR nor the FRG can relinquish their responsibility for the preservation toward the consolidation of peace, disarmament and detente should be made by the two German states which, sovereign and independent of one another, decide their own domestic and foreign policies, and carry corresponding weight within their respective alliances.

Our viewpoint that the implementation of the proposals of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states would visibly improve the international climate has been explained on various occasions to those responsible in the FRG.

Jarowsky said that far-reaching steps for the prevention of the militarization of space and the ending of the arms race on earth would at the same time open up a great opportunity to stop the further stockpiling of weapons on German soil, thus better safeguarding security for the two German states. However, contradictory replies came from Bonn. In the Federal Government's official statements the Soviet proposals were welcomed. At the same time it cannot, however, be overlooked that those in the FRG who carry political responsibility approve the U.S. program for the militarization of space and show lively interest in the FRG's participation in the relevant projects.

The government parties have used their majority in the Bundestag once again against the majority will of the population and declared the participation in the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) to be "welcome in principle." Whatever the justification for such a decision, it would be a further, dangerous step. A vote against the "star wars" plans of the United States would doubtless be seen as a sign of the FRG Government's commitment to peace, the speaker said.

The growing resistance to the Pentagon's "star wars" plans in the FRG as well as in other NATO countries and even in the United States cannot be overlooked. Serious misgivings have penetrated deeply into the Bonn coalition parties, exist in leading industrial circles, among well-known scientists, and in all strata of the FRG population. This was also shown by the Information and Action Week of the FRG peace movement in November 1985, during which nearly 1 million people raised their voices in warning.

Active action in the spirit of common responsibility for peace is characterized as the fundamental concern at the meetings with leading representatives of the SPD. The meeting between Erich Honecker and the SPD chairman Willy Brandt was of historic significance. It was the first time that an extensive political exchange of views took place between the leading representatives of the SED and SPD, it was said.

The two parties' willingness to work and cooperate, irrespective of existing differences in fundamental political and ideological questions, for the safeguarding of peace, is of far-reaching significance. This we consider as an important step in the setting up of a worldwide coalition of reason and realism toward common actions by the SED and SPD and the other parties of the Socialist International in the struggle for peace, disarmament and detente. The latest session of the Socialist International in Vienna and the appeal for disarmament show vividly its growing work for disarmament and the safeguarding of peace.

Following on from the experiences gathered by the two parties in working out a proposal for a framework agreement to create a chemical weapons-free zone in Europe, the SED and SPD agreed to continue talks on arms limitation and disarmament and embark on a discussion on the creation of a nuclear battlefield weapons-free zone in Europe in line with the Palme Commission's proposal. The Politburo has now assigned a working group of the SED Central Committee for these talks under the leadership of Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and has given it the required mandate.

The report to the session states that the SED and SPD agree that it is in the interests of people in the GDR and FRG to purposefully continue to mutually benefit from the policy of peaceful coexistence and businesslike cooperation based on the Basic Treaty. In this connection Willy Brandt has spoken in favor of establishing official contacts between the FRG Bundestag and the GDR People's Chamber.

As for the further development of relations between the GDR and FRG, the Politburo again underscores the great importance of the joint statement on the meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in March of this year. This applies above all to the statement that the inviolability of frontiers and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe in their present borders is a fundamental condition for peace. The GDR is committed in work and deed to the principle underscored at that meeting; to do everything to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil, but rather peace.

Erich Honecker in this sense reiterated that an improvement in relations between the GDR and FRG is possible if both sides are guided by realism, adherence to treaties and goodwill and, naturally, by respect for sovereignty, equality and noninterference.

At Erich Honecker's invitation, the Saarland Premier Oskar Lafontaine, chairman of the SPD's Regional Association, visited the GDR. During a useful and constructive exchange of views, far-reaching agreement was reached on foreign policy issues, especially as far as the prevention of the arms race in space and ending it on earth. Agreement was reached on measures to develop trade and cultural and youth exchanges with Saarland.

The fact that interest in real socialism in the other German state is growing precisely among working people was clearly confirmed by the over 50 union shop-stewards and works committees from the Saarland during a friendly gathering with the GDR head of state at the latter's official seat.

Cooperation with the states and political forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America occupies a significant place in the activities of the SED and the GDR. These states and the Nonaligned Movement have clearly increased their commitment to peace, disarmament and development in recent months. In the interest of securing peace in the world it is more urgent than ever to remove sources of conflict and tension.

The GDR supports the efforts of the Contadora states toward a just solution of the conflicts in Nicaragua and Central America and condemns the terror against the Chilean people. It calls for an end to apartheid in South Africa and to the imperialist interference and military intervention against Angola and other states in southern Africa. Namibia must be granted independence immediately. The GDR supports the convening of an international Middle East peace conference involving all interested sides, including the PLO. It will continue to support the just struggle of the Afghan people against the imperialist interference in its internal affairs and to defend its revolutionary achievements. The SED is in favor of negotiations within the United Nations on a global and just solution of the problem of the indebtedness of the countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa to the imperialist states.

In accordance with the demands of the economic strategy aimed at further strengthening the GDR economy, decisions were taken by the Central Committee in order successfully to continue the proven course of the main task in the long term.

The report says: What is decisive is that a fundamental change toward comprehensive intensification has taken place, the material and intellectual potential has been expanded, and the advantages of socialism have been more extensively linked with the results of the scientific and technical revolution. On the basis of solid growth, the highest upturn to date has been achieved. Development has been further accelerated above all in those areas which are decisive for securing the future, and these continuing good performances are linked with further improved economic results.

More and more combines have achieved high growth rates in net production, in the development of new technologies, and products, in the construction of rationalization equipment, and in the development and use of robots. The development, production and application of micro-electronics is further strongly accelerated, Jarowsky said. There has also been good progress in the shaping of the raw and finished materials base of the economy and in the more extensive processing of raw and finished materials.

Regarding the fulfillment of the 1985 economic plan the report notes that by the end of October produced national income rose by 4.5 percent compared with the same period last year. Industry, 80 percent, had the largest share in the growth of national income. Labor productivity in industry increased by 8.0 percent, and in the construction sector by 9.9 percent. One hundred and seventy-six combines in industry and the construction sector accelerated the increase in labor productivity compared with last year.

The unit consumption of economically important raw materials and materials was reduced by 3.5 percent. Net production in industry rose by 8.6 percent, which is significantly faster than goods production. This rose by 4.5 percent. The industrial plan lead in net production was expanded by the end of October to 2.6 billion marks. Industry made available products amounting to 2.7 billion marks in excess of plan for supplying the population and the economy and for exports.

Considerable growth rates were achieved in the production of microelectronic components. Jarowsky said that special mention should be made of the growth rate of 21.5 percent in the domestic construction of rationalization means. The number of combines showing a growth rate in net production and labor productivity of over 10 percent increasing. Up to the end of October the costs per 100 marks of goods produced by industry were reduced by 2.1 percent. In the construction industry net production up to the end of October was 3.3 percent ahead of plan, which represents an increase of 9.5 percent over last year. The plan lead amounts to 515 million marks. There has been a further shift from road to rail and inland shipping in the transportation of goods. Railway performance has risen by 6.2 percent.

Up to the end of October, 28.8 billion marks had been invested in industry, construction, transportation, posts and telecommunications, environmental protection and water resources. The accumulation capability of the economy has been used primarily for the development and application of microelectronic robotics and computer-assisted design and production planning and management.

Long-term programs for cooperation in science, technology and production up to the year 2000 were agreed and 5-year plans for 1986 to 1990 were coordinated with the USSR and the other CEMA states. The agreements encompass a volume of almost 600 billion marks. The volume of trade agreed with the USSR up to 1990 amounts to over 380 billion marks.

For the development of economic and scientific-technical relations with the PRC a trade and payments agreement for the period 1986-90 was signed in Beijing in July.

The report says that up to the end of October the GDR's balance of trade showed a considerable export surplus in both the socialist and the nonsocialist economic spheres.

Up to the end of October a total of 174,014 homes were built or modernized, which is 7,784 over the plan. Living conditions thus improved so far this year for 522,000 citizens. In Berlin, 24,995 homes were newly-built or modernized by the end of October, which was 6,326 more than last year's equivalent period. The report says that aggregate housing construction is to solve the housing question as a social problem by 1990.

Retail trade turnover rose by 4 percent through October, with turnover of industrial goods growing by 5 percent and of food and semi-luxury goods by 3 percent. From the beginning of the year to end of October the net monetary income of the population rose by 3.5 percent and savings deposits by 2.8 billion marks. To the end of October newly-developed consumer goods worth 26.8 billion marks were produced, which is some 4.6 billion marks more than in the equivalent period last year.

In services and repairs for the population, the publicly-owned enterprises of the local services and utilities sector achieved a growth of 4.3 percent. Cooperative and private tradesmen accounted for over two-thirds of that.

By the end of October the plan lead in the production of raw lignite was 18 million tonnes of graded coal and 4.3 million tonnes of lignite briquettes the report notes.

This year 11.6 million tonnes of grain were harvested. This is a further increase compared with the record harvest of the previous year and corresponds to a hectare yield of 46 decitonnes. On average the yield of all crops amounts to 49.6 decitonnes of grain equivalent units per hectare according to present calculations. For the first time 256 decitonnes of potatoes per hectare were harvested. The targets for the end of October were exceeded at 1.1 million tonnes of vegetables and 764,000 tonnes of fruit.

The plans for livestock produce this year have so far been substantially exceeded. Thus by the end of October 6.4 million tonnes of fatstock (50,600 tonnes more than planned), and 4,213,000 eggs (50 million more than planned) were produced.

Also in agriculture a change toward comprehensive intensification has taken place, Jarowsky said. The long-term orientation toward the intensification of grain production and the systematic replacement of grain imports has proved itself. If the average hectare yield was only 35.8 decitonnes from 1976 to 1980 this would rise to an average of 41.3 decitonnes for this 5-year period. Next year, too, the rise in yield remains the most important task for agriculture.

The SED Central Committee Politburo, in accordance with the GDR constitution and election law, proposed to the session to recommend to the GDR Council of State to hold elections to the People's Chamber, the East Berlin City Assembly, and the Bezirk assemblies on 8 June, 1986.

Referring to party affairs, Jarowsky announced that prior to the party elections personal talks had been conducted with 2,272,210 members and candidates members of the party. Seventy-three thousand one hundred and eighty three candidates were accepted by the party.

In conclusion Jarowsky noted that the party is approaching the 11th party congress with strength, unity, and cohesion, and that it is well prepared. The final, important section on the path toward this great social even now lies ahead.

SCHABOWSKI ELEVATED TO BERLIN BEZIRK LEADERSHIP

LD252133 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] Today on the recommendation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and, until now, chief editor of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, was elected first secretary by the plenum of the Berlin Bezirk Executive. The general secretary, who took part in the session, expressed his best wishes to Schabowski for his responsible activity at the head of the bezirk party organization in the further preparations for the 11th party congress. Guenter Schabowski affirmed that he will exert all energy to fulfill the tasks set by the 11th session of the Central Committee by means of new initiatives and achievements on the part of all Berlin Communists, in order that the capital be a worthy host to the delegates of the 11th party congress.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Central Committee, the Bezirk Executive released Konrad Naumann from his position as first secretary.

According to an announcement by the SED Central Committee, the deputy chief editor of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Herbert Naumann, was confirmed as chief editor.

BIOGRAPHIES OF NEW POLITBURO CANDIDATES RELEASED

AU251233 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Nov 85 p 2

[Curricula vitae of Werner Eberlein, Siegfried Lorenz, and Gerhard Mueller, who were elected candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo at the 11th SED Central Committee session on 22 November in East Berlin]

[Text] Werner Eberlein: Werner Eberlein was born on 9 November 1919, the son of a revolutionary workers' family. In 1928 he became a member of the KPD [Communist Party of Germany] children's organization. During the fascist era he lived in the USSR where he actively participated in socialist construction. In 1948 he returned to the GDR and became a member of the SED. As an electrician, journalist, and graduate sociologist he held responsible positions in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and in the SED Central Committee. In 1959 he became a member of the Agitation Committee attached to the SED Central Committee Politburo. From 1964 he worked as deputy director of the Central Committee Party Organs Department. From 1971 to 1981 Werner Eberlein was a member of the SED Central Auditing Commission. At the 10th party congress he became a member of the SED Central Committee. In 1983 Werner Eberlein was elected first secretary of the Magdeburg SED Bezirk leadership.

Siegfried Lorenz: Siegfried Lorenz was born on 26 November 1930 in Annaberg, the son of a workers' family. After his apprenticeship as a mechanic he studied at the Worker-Peasant Faculty and the Karl-Marx University in Leipzig. In 1951 he concluded his studies as a graduate sociologist. Since 1945 he has been a member of the party of the workers' class. From 1951 to 1953 he was department head of the FDJ [Free German Youth] Central Council. From 1954 to 1965 he was secretary and then first secretary of the FDJ Berlin Bezirk leadership, and from 1959 to 1976 a member of the FDJ Central Council and its office. From 1966 to 1976 Siegfried Lorenz headed the SED Central Committee Youth Affairs Department. In 1976 he was elected first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership.

Gerhard Mueller: Gerhard Mueller was born on 4 February 1928 in what was formerly Chemnitz, [now Karl-Marx-Stadt] the son of a workers' family. From 1945 to 1946 he was an agricultural worker and a construction worker. After graduating from a pedagogical college he first worked as a teacher, later as school director and Kreis supervisor. Since 1946 Gerhard Mueller has been a member of the SED. In 1955 he graduated from the Karl Marx Party College attached to the SED Central Committee as a graduate sociologist. Afterwards he held party functions in Neubrandenburg Bezirk. From 1974 to 1980 he was second secretary of the Neubrandenburg Bezirk leadership. From 1962 to 1966 he was trained as a state certified agriculturist by correspondence teaching. Since 1980 Gerhard Mueller has been first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership. At the 10th party congress he was elected a member of the SED Central Committee.

HONECKER REPORTEDLY TO VISIT FRG IN 'EARLY JAN'

DW261021 Hamburg BILD in German 26 Nov 85 pp 1, 8

[Unattributed report: "Windelen Secretly in East Berlin"]

[Text] Minister of Inner-German Relations Heinrich Windelen (CDU) was secretly in East Berlin. He was informed by Braeutigam, head of the permanent representation, about the planned Honecker visit to the FRG and changes in the "GDR" leadership.

East Berlin politicians have told Braeutigam that SED chief Honecker will come in early January. A firm date was not mentioned. On this Thursday [28 November] East Berlin Central Committee Secretary Felke will meet Minister of the Chancellery Schaeuble in Bonn.

A high government official told BILD: "The agenda of the visit and the issues of talks will be discussed on this occasion."

Experts pointed out that by replacing Central Committee members Naumann and Haerber, Honecker has gotten rid of two politicians who had voted against his visit last year.

CSSR'S HUSAK ARRIVES; GREETED BY HONECKER

LD261052 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0956 GMT 26 Nov 85

[Text] Berlin, 26 Nov (ADN) -- Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, arrived in the GDR this morning [26 November] for a friendly visit. He is accepting an invitation from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

Gustav Husak was given a fraternal welcome by Erich Honecker on his arrival at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport. Gustav Husak is accompanied by Svatopluk Potac, deputy federal prime minister and chairman of the CSSR State Planning Commission; Jaroslav Macek, chief of the Bureau of the General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee [name and title as received]; Franticek Salda, chief of the Chancellery of the President, and other persons.

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission; and Frank-Joachim Herrmann, candidate member of the SED Central Committee, state secretary, and chief of the Chancery of the Chairman of the GDR Council of State, were present at the welcoming. Also present was Pavel Sadovskiy, CSSR ambassador to the GDR.

STOPH MEETS WITH SFRY'S BORISAV SREBRIC

AU181140 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Nov 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On Wednesday [13 November] Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Borisav Srebric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council and president of the Commission for Planning and Development of the Federal Council, who is visiting the GDR for economic consultations.

During the friendly exchange of views the need was stressed to do everything possible, in view of the dangerously tense world situation, to avert the danger of a nuclear war, to prevent the militarization of space, and to secure a lasting world peace. Great concern about the international situation which has emerged as a result of the imperialists confrontation stance and arms buildup, Willi Stoph stressed, has promoted the Warsaw pact countries to point out a realistic road with the proposals, submitted at the most recent session in Sofia for a change for the better in Europe and in the world at large.

Willi Stoph and Borisav Srebric underscored the readiness of their countries to further develop bilateral relations for the benefit of the peoples of the GDR and SFRY as well as in the interest of peace, of equal international cooperation, and of socialism. The basis for all this is the agreement concluded on the occasion of the official friendship visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council to Yugoslavia in October 1985 with Radovan Vlackovic, president of the SFRY Presidium, and with Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Presidium. These agreements, Borisav Srebric stressed, impart new incentives to this cooperation. The participants affirmed their will to further develop mutually advantageous economic and scientific-technological collaboration, particularly by means of cooperation and specialization.

In the further course of the talks, Willi Stoph gave an account of the great achievements of the working people in the combines and enterprises and preparation for the 11th SED Congress as well as in fulfilling and overfulfilling the 1986 national economic plan. Borisav Srebric explained the steps initiated by the parts and SFRY Government to implement the long-term program for economic stabilization in order to safeguard an economic upswing and to improve the working people's working and living conditions.

Participating in the talks was Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission.

Present were Hermann Leihkauf, deputy chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission; Milos Sindjic, director general of the Federal Office for Social Planning of the SFRY; and Ljubomir Majeric, SFRY ambassador to the GDR.

Sign Economic Protocol

AU191523 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16-17 Nov 85 p 5

[Text] East Berlin (ADN) -- On Friday [15 November] deliberations which extended over several days ended in Berlin with the signing of the protocol on coordinating the national economic plans between the GDR and the SFRY for the 1986-1990 period.

For the GDR, Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, signed the document; for the SFRY it was Borisav Srebric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council of the Federal Assembly and chairman of the Federal Executive Council Committee for Social Planning and Development.

Based on the results of the official friendship visit of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to Yugoslavia in October 1985 and his talks with Radovan Vlacovic, president of the SFRY Presidium, and Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the measures set down with the plan coordination are directed at further deepening the economic and scientific-technological cooperation as well as the cooperative division of labor between the two countries in the forthcoming 5-year-plan period.

The level of economic relations between the two countries achieved on the basis of mutual benefit is to be purposefully developed on a long-term basis in the period up to 1990. To this end, agreements were signed for cooperation in science, technology, and production on the basis of cooperation and specialization as well as for joint action in third markets.

They focus on increasing the scientific-technological level of products, applying highly efficient technologies and processes, as well as rationalizing and automatizing production processes.

The coordinated commodity exchange serves to better meet the demand of the national economies and the supply of the population in the GDR and the SFRY. Proceeding from the tested export and import structure, preconditions and conditions are created for further increasing mutual deliveries of goods and services.

Mutual deliveries of raw materials are to be continued on the basis of the basic agreements and long-term agreements. Thus, the GDR will receive aluminum, copper, zinc, and cellulose from the SFRY, and according to its production structure, it will export products such as potash, organic and inorganic chemical products, pharmaceutical basic materials, and photographic materials to the SFRY. In line with the existing trade agreement, the GDR already receives titanium dioxide.

Among other things, the SFRY purchases from the GDR equipment for open cast mining, freight ships, products of the machine tool and tool industry, of the medium-level data technology and light industry, as well as of medical and laboratory technology.

SFRY exports to the GDR include machine tools and construction machinery, roller chains, hermetic refrigeration compressors, modules of medium-level data technology, sanitary fittings, cast-iron ware, tires and rubber products, products of the light and food industries, as well as of agriculture, forestry, and the provision industry. It was agreed to consistently continue cooperation between the organs responsible for planning, economy, and foreign trade.

Both sides agreed to work out the long-term agreement for the 1986-1990 period and the annual protocol for 1986 on the basis of the signed protocol of plan coordination and to conclude commercial treaties.

After the signing Gerhard Schuerer and Borisav Srebric assessed the results of the coordination as a contribution to further deepening the relations between the GDR and the SFRY in all fields of social life for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries as well as in the service of peace and socialism. The tested path of expanding cooperation in science, technology and production is an essential factor for the further development of the performance capacity of the two countries' national economies in the 5-year plan period up to 1990. Now it is important to implement the concluded agreements purposefully and with high effectiveness. The purposeful work of the GDR-SFRY Joint Economic Commission has a particularly important role in the further shaping of economic relations and in the implementation of the long-term trade agreement.

From the SFRY the signing in Berlin was attended by Milos Sindic, director general of the Federal Social Planning Institute, and Ambassador Ljubomir Majeric; participants from the GDR included Wolfgang Rauchfuss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR section in the GDR-SFRY Joint Economic Commission; Hermann Leihkauf, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission, as well as other figures from both countries.

ECONOMIC COORDINATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH LAOS

LD252347 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1637 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] Berlin, 25 Nov (ADN) -- The GDR and Laos have coordinated their national economic plans for the first time. The agreement covers the period from 1986 to 1990. It will tie economic relations even more tightly and effectively for mutual advantage. This was stated by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, and Khamphet Pheng Muang, first vice-chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, on Monday [25 November] in Berlin.

Priority is to be given in the immediate future to tackling tasks together which will make it possible for Laos to increase production of tropical agriculture products and in the long term to increase their export to the GDR. In return, the GDR will deliver machinery, equipment, and chemical and other products.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON EUROPEAN CULTURAL FORUM

West Torpedoes Communiqué

LD251247 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Report by Istvan Kulcsar from Budapest Congress Center]

[Text] Despite the greatest efforts, it has not been possible to conclude the European Cultural Forum with a joint communiqué. The Western delegations decisively and cold-bloodedly torpedoed the adoption of a closing document at the cultural forum, Ambassador Kirichenko [deputy head of USSR delegation] said at his news conference a few minutes ago.

Unofficial work went on during the night at the forum and in the morning an official closed session was held. From a formal point of view this counted as a continuation of Friday's [22 November] session, since the debate on the fourth point on the agenda -- the conclusions -- should have been completed on Friday [22 November]. This morning, according to the agenda, the public closing session should have taken place.

Ambassador Kirichenko, the deputy head of the Soviet delegation, noted that until recently the forum worked successfully and made it possible for the cultural representatives to carry out a useful exchange. He added that the conference is an important stage of the Helsinki process.

I will now ask my colleague Ivan Bedoe, to report on what was said later at the news conference:

In his tough statement the ambassador used the expression that the closing document had been killed off. He blamed the United States, Great Britain, the FRG, and Norway, noting that Switzerland also failed to facilitate the mediating role of the neutral and nonaligned countries. In his analysis of the immediate causes, the Soviet ambassador said that the Western and in particular the NATO countries had done everything to make the proposal of the neutral countries unacceptable. The Westerners had not concentrated on what linked the participants but on those things that will continue to divide them for quite some time. The final impetus, in the Soviet analysis, was provided by the fact that this morning the Western countries put forward a recommendation of their own, thereby violating the unspoken East-West agreement to leave the preparation of proposals to the neutral countries.

Georgiy Ivanov, Soviet deputy minister of culture, the other deputy head of the Soviet delegation, spoke of the significance of the forum and noted that overall the conference has been a useful exchange of experiences. Naturally, the delegates represented different political and ideological positions and there were heated debates. Our Western colleagues -- he went on -- occasionally exhibited a lack of knowledge of what has been achieved in the USSR in the sphere of creative freedom. There were attempts to disseminate disinformation and to create chaos at the forum by tampering with the agenda.

The Soviet deputy minister attacked sharply and at length the conditions prevailing in the United States and then went on to say that the character of the forum was not determined by the aforementioned negative phenomena but by the fact that the representatives and creators of culture conducted a useful exchange on international cultural cooperation and the preservation of the cultural traditions.

The public closing session of the European Cultural Forum is almost certain to be held this afternoon.

U.S. Delegate's Response

AU251349 Paris AFP in English 1344 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] Budapest, Nov 25 (AFP) — Soviet delegates at East-West cultural talks here today accused Western nations of "torpedoing" their final document.

U.S. chief delegate Walter Stoessel in reply said there had been agreement at last week's Geneva superpower summit to end mutual "stupid remarks."

The exchanges came at a cultural forum linked to the intermittent Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Three Soviet delegates accused the United States of "cultural and physical genocide" and having abundant examples of racism and anti-semitism."

The hour-long charges, at a press conference, sent a cold war blast through the forum.

Mr. Stoessel said later that Soviet party chief Mikhail Gorbachev had told a press conference in Geneva he agreed with U.S. President Ronald Reagan that the superpowers should "stop making stupid remarks about each other."

"The Soviet spokesman does not seem to have understood the message," Mr. Stoessel said.

Communique Unacceptable to Romania

LD251902 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Nov 85

[From the "Evening Chronicle" program with station correspondents Istvan Kulcsar and Ivan Bedoe reporting from the European Cultural Forum in Budapest; 25 November -- recorded]

[Text] [Bedoe] The closing session, which was intended to be the last one and where it should have been decided whether the representatives from the 35 countries would adopt at least a brief joint statement, ended with a closing report shortly before the start of this "Evening Chronicle" program. The session ended without adopting a statement. Another short interval is going on right now.

[Kulcsar] Debate has continued at the forum since Friday [22 November] mainly in small working groups and went on last night [24 December] through this morning. The debate was about a joint document which would have summed up in substantive terms the proposals and recommendations presented in the past weeks. The basis of the work was the draft submitted first by the neutral and nonaligned countries' delegates, then by Luxembourg on behalf of the EEC countries, then by Bulgaria representing five socialist countries, with the submission of a draft document. None of these was suitable however, for approval by all the sides and therefore, the Soviet delegation, at its news conference today, blamed the Western delegations. The Western delegations, at their news conference, placed the responsibility on the socialist countries.

Meanwhile, the Hungarian delegation put together a more modest -- in terms of content -- document which listed factually the events of the forum, emphasizing among other things the beneficiality of the exchanges of views among those in cultural fields.

There were smaller complements to the draft, but by 1700 hours [1600 GMT] in the afternoon it almost seemed that the draft would be unanimously adopted, when at the scheduled closed session, the Romanian delegate unexpectedly rose to speak and said the draft of the factual communique was unacceptable. As we are reporting now a few minutes before 1830 hours [1730 GMT] we cannot yet report whether there will be some joint document or not.

[Bedoe] After this, it is possible to forecast that the last plenary session closing the forum will last into the night. At this, speeches will be aimed at the public; so far, more than 20 countries' representatives have signaled their wish to speak.

Talks End Without Communique

AU252059 Paris AFP in English 2052 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Excerpt] Budapest, Nov 25 (AFP) -- East-West cultural talks ended here today without the publication of a final statement when Romania refused approval of an agreement approved by all other delegations after three days of bitter wrangling.

The Romanians rejected the document, proposed by Hungary and amended by Austria, on the grounds that the text was "empty and valueless".

Several delegates interpreted the Romanian move as a response to Hungarian charges during the talks that the Hungarian minority in Romanian Transylvania was being persecuted.

Soviets Comment

AU251633 Paris AFP in English 1606 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] One of the assistant chiefs of the Soviet delegation, Yuriy Kirchenko, put the blame for the failure of negotiations mainly on the United States and Britain.

To a lesser extent he also blamed West Germany and Norway, and said that Switzerland had not been particularly helpful "in drafting an acceptable document."

He also accused NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) and the West in general of having tried to divert the talks from their proper purpose by introducing points that had nothing to do with culture and to have insisted, for the final text, only on points of division on which no agreement was possible.

Another assistant chief of delegation, Deputy Culture Minister G. Ivanov, read out a text accusing the U.S. of "cultural and physical genocide," and constant "direct or indirect censorship", adding that in the U.S. "a large section of the population is refused access to literature because it is illiterate, which does not seem to bother anyone."

The heads of the delegations of Luxembourg (speaking on behalf of the members of the European economic Community), the U.S., West Germany, and Norway, spoke successively at a joint Western press conference.

They said that they had hoped to the very end to reach an agreement on a final document, but that it was out of the question to except a text that said nothing and made no reference to such basic principles as free speech, freedom to travel, and the rights of minorities.

After the Western "report," a document was submitted jointly by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Hungary also submitted a text, just before the resumption this afternoon of the plenary session suspended since Friday afternoon.

Benyi Assesses Forum Talks

AU191526 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Nov 85 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Dr Jozsef Benyi, deputy foreign minister, deputy head of the Hungarian delegation, by paper's correspondent Laszlo N. Sandor: "The Forum's Mission Should Bring Success — Statement by Dr Jozsef Benyi to MAGYAR HIRLAP"]

[Excerpts]

[Sandor] Would you please give a general analysis of the cultural Forum's discussions so far?

[Benyi] There has never been a conference like this. The first 5 weeks actually prove that those who looked forward to this conference with hope were right. The conference's activities have not been made easy by external circumstances, because the international situation has remained tense. In such a situation it is even more important that the mission of the Cultural Forum should produce success that we make some real and practical progress and thus improve confidence in each other and the system of relations among the 35 countries. A general comment seems to be that convening the Cultural Forum was timely.

European security and cooperation need a successful Cultural Forum. It is very good to hear distinguished people express their opinions on what we should do better together to make cultural creativity, dissemination, and cooperation more meaningful. We have never thought that a total consensus could be reached in this area. It would be difficult enough to achieve such a thing within one country, let alone among 35 countries.

[Sandor] What chance does the conference have of being successful and accepting a possible closing document?

[Benyi] The Cultural Forum reflects the world's situation, and this in itself is not promising. However, the conference promises some hope. We try to look at everything realistically. There are a lot of proposals awaiting decision; perhaps even too many by now to make our job easy.

Many other circumstances, such as the fact that we have too short a time caution us to be careful. We hear other delegations say, and we ourselves feel, that the conference's political atmosphere and the substance of the submitted proposals are enough to put the achievements in writing. This requires that the participating countries' political will does not change in the last week. The Cultural Forum has been an important event even without a closing document.

The Hungarian delegation, within the range of its modest possibilities, will do everything to maintain our achievements so far. Even if the conference faces some nerve-racking moments, we hope that such moments will not influence the positive final decisions.

GDR Delegate on Forum

AU211158 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Nov 85 p 2

[Interview with Peter Lorf, deputy head of the GDR delegation to the Budapest European Cultural Forum, by Katalin Karcagi: "Success Depends in Part on Politics," date and place not given -- first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] Peter Lorf is visiting Budapest as a guest of the cultural forum and deputy head of the GDR delegation. He worked as a journalist and later as spokesman of the Foreign Ministry. At present he is a department head of the ministry.

[Karcagi] You work with words; this is your profession. In your opinion, how successful has the cultural forum has been so far in bringing one another's views closer and understanding each other better in spite of the differences of opinion?

[Lorf] We knew, in advance, of course, that the participants in the forum would evaluate differently the cultural processes and the cultural events. Besides, diversity of opinions is a prerequisite for dialogue because if everyone thinks the same, what can we exchange views about? Therefore we prepared for this dialogue and we strongly tried to establish a creative atmosphere at the forum. Now, in the concluding phase of the forum, we think that our intentions to enable culture-creating persons to exchange views in a constructive way to debate, to settle their misunderstandings, and to reduce prejudices have for the most part been fulfilled. More than that, on certain issues, the participants should not only get closer to each other but also agree. This is proved by the great number of proposals submitted.

[Karcagi] Are the outlines of an agreement already discernible? I know that you cannot speak about the details of the activities of the different competent groups; nevertheless, what can public opinion expect?

[Lorf] I must admit that not everyone shares our evaluation that the forum's activity is developing favorably. There are people who see the situation differently; they are more pessimistic. I think, however, that if we ask the cultural experts themselves, we find that they share our opinion. The outlines of the final document are not yet clearly discernible.

[Karcagi] The work committee dealing with radio, television, and film serials held its session not long ago. As far as I know the danger of commercialization was also discussed. How does the GDR try to strengthen national character in its programs and thus offer an alternative?

[Lorf] There has indeed been such a debate which transcended the borders of social orders, with Europe on one side and the United States on the other. The great telecommunication syndicates not only attempt to penetrate into our countries but also strive in general to eliminate national cultures.

There can be both business and political consideration behind these efforts. It is in any case a fact that today we already have to face a "star war" waged against the telecommunication media. Each country should strive to strengthen its own production and its own national character. There is no general formula for achieving this, and no common concept has been formulated for solving this at the forum, either. The GDR has been preparing for this for many years as our population has been exposed not only to the national media. And perhaps precisely because of this, the GDR is one of the socialist countries particularly intellectually prepared for this situation which basically does not mean anything new for us.

[Karcagi] What is the extent of the GDR's cultural presence abroad? How are the outstanding ensembles like the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, the Brecht Ensemble, or the Komische Opera received abroad, and how will all these develop in the future, in your opinion?

[Lorf] We have maintained a rich cultural exchange with other countries in recent years. There is hardly a famous GDR ensemble that has not appeared in Europe or outside the continent, just as we also take upon ourselves to present an increasing number of foreign productions in the new opera house and theaters like the Dresden Semper Opera or the recently reconstructed Berlin Schauspielhaus. This cultural exchange has developed to such an extent that it seems today that there is no longer a possibility for considerable expansion. After all, we are a small country -- you mentioned a few ensembles, we could add twice or three times as many, but not more than that -- and in the course of introducing our culture, we cannot forget about our own citizens, either. We cannot face our spectators with closed stages.

[Karcagi] The cultural mission includes cultural centers. Outside the socialist countries, where does the GDR have representations on this continent and on other continents?

[Lorf] In Paris, Stockholm, and Helsinki. Outside Europe, only in Havana and Damascus. We regard the cultural centers as an interesting means of introducing our own culture but we also regard them at the same time as very expensive.

[Karcagi] In your opinion, can the forum's activity contribute to the elimination of obstacles in cultural exchanges and to strengthening the process of mutual acquaintance and understanding?

[Lorf] This is a difficult question because, although cultural exchange is a very useful thing, it cannot survive by itself. Its development depends not only on the hope for successful conclusion of the cultural forum but much more on the development of political relations on our continent.

Leaders Send Anniversary Message to Angola

AU122152 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Nov 85 p 7

[Text] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP, and Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, greeted Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, in a telegram on the occasion of Angola's national day, the 10th anniversary of the declaration of its independence.

TRYBUNA LUDU TERMS SUMMIT 'GOOD BEGINNING'

AU252006 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Nov 85 pp 1, 8

[Janusz Moszczenski commentary: "A Good Beginning"]

[Text] The Geneva summit has created conditions for improving Soviet-U.S. relations and for relaxing the tense international situation. This is what the joint statement and the statements made by the two leaders clearly indicate. However, these statements also indicate that the road to these improvements will be neither short nor easy.

Not only the basic ideological, political, economic, and social differences between the socialist and capitalist systems, but also the forces of the U.S. industrial-armament complex that oppose disarmament, detente, and peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems -- peaceful coexistence based on equal foundations -- will count among the obstacles along that road.

Those forces are especially numerous in the influential circles of the present U.S. Administration that are in close touch with the Pentagon. Let us recall that political and press commentators agreed that the leakage of the confidential letter written by Defense Secretary C. Weinberger to the U.S. President, to induce him to adopt a tough and unyielding attitude in talks with M.Gorbachev, was meant as a missile to torpedo the summit meeting. However, this missile proved to be a dud.

The first meeting between M. Gorbachev and R. Reagan has produced positive results. Their exchanges of views were candid, specific, comprehensive, useful and, as the joint statement asserts, have resulted in a better understanding of each other's positions. The two sides are for improving Soviet-U.S. relations and the international situation and are in favor of dialogue that searches for areas of agreement with regard to existing problems.

The two sides decided that another summit meeting should be held in the near future. The joint statement discusses a number of problems which, as the sides have agreed, have to be solved. These problems are of enormous importance for mankind. They include tasks such as preventing nuclear war, conventional war, and the arms race in space; ending the arms race on earth; reducing nuclear armaments; strengthening strategic stability; abandoning efforts to achieve military superiority; and banning chemical weapons.

The joint statement stresses the great importance that the two great powers attach to the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in central Europe and to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe.

It was too much to hope that the first brief meeting between the leaders of the USSR and the United States would be able to solve the aforementioned problems in specific terms. The divergencies on these basic problems continue to be considerable. As the joint statement asserts, the two leaders decided that representatives of their own countries will continue in Geneva to search for solutions to these extremely important problems. This also applies to new forms of developing Soviet-U.S. relations and to consultations on regional problems, which, in most cases, are viewed completely differently by the U.S. and Soviet Union.

In order to ensure that the intentions expressed in the joint statement with regard to achieving accord are translated into specific and practical measures, further action in the spirit of the statement is necessary.

As for the USSR, it will do its very best in its cooperation with the United States to try to solve in practice tasks such as limiting the arms race, reducing present arsenals, and ensuring conditions for lasting peace among nations, on earth, and in space. This is what M. Gorbachev said at the conclusion of the Geneva meeting.

If the United States is as responsible in its approach to problems, it will be possible to assert that the Geneva summit has not been in vain and its achievements have not been wasted.

On the other hand, right now we have to stress most strongly that the very fact that the Geneva meeting was held is a great success of Soviet policy, which all the Warsaw Pact countries support.

The almost iron-clad consistency of this policy as well as its goodwill, inventiveness, readiness to achieve reasonable compromises, and numerous and far-sighted disarmament and detente initiatives have created a situation in which Washington was unable to refuse to hold a summit meeting. The danger that Washington would offend world public opinion and its own NATO allies was too great.

Geneva is a good beginning of renewed Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

It seems to me that a common platform exists which may serve as a point of departure for improving Soviet-U.S. relations, M. Gorbachev said at his press conference in Geneva. This platform is a realization that nuclear war is inadmissible, that it must not be waged, and that it will leave no victors. This means that the issue of security is the central issue of the present relations between our countries, the Soviet leader declared.

Those conservative U.S. forces that expected that the summit meeting would never be held will be disappointed in its results. On the other hand, the world public, including the Polish people, welcomes with hope the results of the Geneva meeting because it expects that the development of international relations will continue for the good of mankind's common future.

PZPR DELEGATION VISITS USSR, MEETS WITH NIKONOV

LD251440 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Nov 85

[Text] At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, a Central Committee PZPR delegation headed by Zbigniew Michalek, Central Committee secretary, stayed in the Soviet Union on an official visit. During the 5-day stay our delegation met with Viktor Nikonov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and other officials. They exchanged experiences in the sphere of party work. Information about the agricultural situation in both countries, and about the tasks of agricultural departments for the next 5 years was also shared.

FURTHER ON FOURTH PPR-FRG FORUM 23-24 NOV

Proposed Cooperation Plans

LD251027 Hamburg DPA in German 1329 GMT 24 Nov 85

[Text] Krakow, 24 Nov (DPA) -- The 4th German-Polish forum ended in Krakow on Sunday [24 November] with the adoption of 14 recommendations to the two people's and governments and the approval of closer economic cooperation. Following almost 3 days of discussions, the approximately 90 participants from political, cultural, and economic spheres of the two countries welcomed the result of the Geneva summit.

A statement adopted on Sunday says that the two superpowers have given a sign of hope. As a result, detente and cooperation in Europe have been given new strength, a new impetus, and understanding between the Federal Republic and Poland. Following Geneva, both states have an obligation "to ensure through their own contribution on the bilateral and multilateral level that the newly begun dialogue between the superpowers receives the necessary input from Europe and in Europe."

It emerges from the recommendations on bilateral issues that the contentious legal questions are the hardest to solve. Following thorough preparation it should "be established whether progress can be achieved in legal dealings, judicial assistance, and in the payment of pensions to individuals in Poland." Most other recommendations relate to practical areas. For example, they welcomed the fact that the school text book conference is to continue its work after 1987.

Partnership links between universities, towns, and sports associations will be supported, as well as cooperation in environmental protection and the revival of German-Polish days and weeks. The forum welcomes the activity of the Red Cross in reunifying families "from the humanitarian point of view."

The members of the forum spoke in favor of meeting again in Kiel in the late spring of 1987 to consider what Germans and Poles can do jointly for Europe. The forum recommended supporting a German plan for a sign of reconciliation in Auschwitz. The Poles expressed reservations about the project, suggested by the German side, to set up a memorial to German resistance to national socialism on the family estate of the Counts Moltke in Kreisau, where the 'Kreisau Circle' met, because of differing assessments of the men involved in the events of 20 July 1944 [assassination attempt on Hitler]. This problem will be discussed further within the framework of the governing committee.

The economic experts taking part in the forum came out in favor of increased cooperation between medium-sized and smaller concerns and tradesmen. They recommended examining opportunities for German-Polish cooperative ventures, including joint capital ventures. The German side will be informed about the opportunities for foreign concerns to work in Poland. The Polish side requested support in dealing with relevant German authorities in their wish to employ Polish specialists in areas where not enough German available.

Both sides agreed that everything must be done to fill Poland's technological gap and to increase its export capacity. Bilateral debt rescheduling negotiations are taking place in Bonn on 2-3 December, where Poland will receive a Hermes guarantee of DM100 million.

Security Cooperation Statement

LD251254 Hamburg DPA in German 1150 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] Bonn 25 Nov (DPA) -- The SPD and the Polish Workers Party, in a joint statement published in Bonn on Monday [25 November], have endorsed a policy of security partnership. With its help, the doctrine of mutual deterrence is to be overcome. This means that security is safeguarded not against one another but jointly, said the statement, which was formulated by a working group of the Polish party and the SPD group, and approved by the leading bodies of the two parties.

The Polish side emphasized that the concept of security partnership was being used for the first time in a joint West-East document.

The statement explains that its basis would have to be the application of all the principles of the final documents of the CSCE of Helsinki and Madrid. It was supported by the self-evident right of every state to determine its own way politically, socially, and culturally.

The joint working group, which was set up in March of this year, dealt above all with possible measures for mutual confidence-building. Going into details, the two sides propose the concretization of the renunciation of nuclear and conventional force by the signatories to the CSCE final act. They call for the creation of a corridor in central Europe free of nuclear battlefield weapons. Likewise, the concentration of conventional offensive armed forces near the frontiers is discouraged.

In their statement, the SPD and the Polish Workers Party appeal to all nuclear powers to freeze the existing arsenals and not to produce new nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons' tests should be stopped. Both sides came out against the deployment of weapons in space.

The two parties count among the bases of confidence-building measures the reunification military steps which could be considered threats and which might have a destabilizing effect. Beyond the military sector, they call for education toward peace instead of the glorification of violence and the development of enemy images, and toward cooperation in the economic and scientific-technological area and in the solution of environmental problems and humanitarian questions.

The Warsaw Treaty, concluded between the Federal Republic and Poland 15 years ago, is praised extensively as the basis for the normalizing and further development of relations between the two states. Concerning last week's Geneva summit talks, a paragraph was added to the document which has already been drawn up. In it, the outcome of the talks are welcomed and the European states in the West and East are called upon to make their contribution to ensure that this result would lead to decisive progress in arms limitation and disarmament.

Ryszard Wojna, Polish delegation leader, emphasized before journalists that because the two parties has found a common phraseology for such an important matter, it had been shown that a common denominator is possible. Horst Ehmke, on behalf of the SPD, rejected in this connection once again the accusation that it pursued a subsidiary foreign policy. Rather, the party used its relations and contacts to ensure that German-Polish relations would not go downhill. These relations benefited directly from the result presented by the working group. Ehmke announced that next year, the group would be dealing with more concrete questions of confidence-building which had, however, not yet been decided on in detail.

MESSNER RECEIVES FRG INDUSTRIALIST BEITZ

LD260047 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] Premier Zbigniew Messner has received the well-known West German industrialist, the chairman of the Krupp consortium's board of directors, Berthold Beitz, who is in Poland on the occasion of the fourth Poland-FRG forum. Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda took part in the meeting.

TRADE COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH CSSR

LD251436 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] An agreement was signed between Poland and Czechoslovakia on mutual deliveries of goods, and payments in the next 5-year period in the Ministry of Foreign Trade today.

In Czechoslovakia we will purchase furniture, leather shoes, automatic washing machines, gas ovens, and medicines. Traditionally we are to sell machinery and installations, hard coal, sulphur, and copper goods.

The value of mutual trade turnover will amount to over R12 billion, while exports and imports will be balanced.

SFRY'S GRICKOV, SAWPY DELEGATION VISIT 19-22 NOV

Talks Held With Dobraczynski

LD192239 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1620 GMT 19 Nov 85

[Text] A delegation of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY) led by Aleksandar Grlickov, president of the Federal Conference Presidium has arrived in Poland.

The Yugoslav guests had a meeting with representatives of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) led by Jan Dobraczynski, PRON chairman. Both sides briefed each other on activities and plans of PRON and SAWPY against the backdrop of the political and social situation in Poland and Yugoslavia. Matters of the position of the movement and its alliance in society and in the state, and contacts with parliaments were among issues discussed. The talks also concerned possibilities for cooperation between PRON and SAWPY.

Talks Conclude

LD240040 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1948 GMT 22 Nov 85

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 22 (TANJUG) -- A Yugoslav Socialist Alliance delegation, headed by its president Aleksandar Grlickov, has ended a four-day visit to Poland during which it met with Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) and Polish Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) representatives.

The delegation held talks with State Council Vice-President Kazimierz Barcikowski, PUWP Politburo Central Committee Member Jozef Czyrek and Sejm President Malinowski.

The talks, including those held with the PRON delegation headed by president Jan Dobraczynski, focused on cooperation between the two countries and the role played by the Yugoslav socialist alliance and the PRON.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION HEAD

LD202303 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 20 Nov 85

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State, received Zbigniew Zielinski, [name as heard] president of the Polish Christian Social Association (CHSS).

CZYREK HOSTS DFLP DELEGATION'S VISIT 18-20 NOV

LD202121 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Nov 85

[Text] A delegation of the Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine [DFLP] led by its secretary general, Nayif Hawatimah, visited Poland 18-20 November. The delegation was received by Jozef Czyrek.

EPISCOPATE RAISES ISSUE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

LD082239 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1900 GMT 8 Nov 85

[Excerpts] Communiqué of the 210th conference of the Episcopate of Poland.

The 210th plenary conference of the Episcopate of Poland was held in Warsaw on 7 and 8 November. The plenary meeting of the bishops was preceded by a meeting of the Episcopate Main Council on 6 November. The meeting was chaired by Jozef Cardinal Glemp, the primate of Poland.

While discussing issues concerned with raising children and youth in families, schools, youth organizations, and the influence of the mass media, the bishops stated that pressure by certain circles to bring up children and youth with a materialistic outlook, contrary to the outlook adopted by Christian families, has been noted. In schools and other educational and influential establishments, there are attempts to present the importance of religion in human life and the role of the church in the history of Poland and in development of the national culture in a distorted manner. All teachers and parents with a Christian outlook should be aware of this. It is their duty to counteract these trends. The bishops also reminded Catholic parents of their duty to protect their children from shows and publications which insult faith and good manners by not allowing them in their homes and by taking care that their children do not associate with them in other places, including schools.

The bishops considered with concern the state of social affairs in Poland. The process of overcoming the social and economic crisis is still facing difficulties, despite the longing for peace and joint efforts for improvement of the national lot by wide circles of society. The Episcopate of Poland, being aware of these social longings and hopes, will persistently endeavor to seek normalization of relations between church and state. Without proper regulations, the attainment of stabilization of social life in the country is difficult. In the context of striving for social stabilization one also has to raise the issue of political prisoners. The solution of all these matters lies in the creation of such possibilities and forms for public activity which allow the constructive involvement of all citizens in activities for the common good.

Both the number and the state of prisoners sentenced for common crimes, and their situation after leaving penal establishments is also awakening concern. Young people constitute a considerable part of them.

Concluding their 2-day debate the bishops gave the homeland their pastoral blessing.

MOST RELEASED PRISONERS ACCUSED OF PUBLIC UNREST

LD252042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] The release of persons arrested or sentenced for noncriminal offenses continues. By Monday, 125 people, including 13 women, had left penal establishments. Among the released persons were 46 workers; 27 white-collar workers, including 5 university teachers; 16 pupils and 10 students. The largest number consists of people who are accused of carrying on activity aimed at causing public unrest, such as disseminating various types of illegal publications.

JUSTICE MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON AMNESTY PROCEDURES

LD241618 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Nov 85

[Interview with Justice Ministry spokesman Andrzej Cubala on amnesty procedures for noncriminal offenses, by unidentified reporter; date, place not given -- live or recorded]

[Text] From 75 to 90, to 110 -- that is how the number of people released from penal establishments after the PRON appeal was growing last week. One may assume that this number is still increasing. Let us recall that it concerns people sentenced or under investigation for noncriminal offenses. The appeal was issued immediately after the elections and as one may see, was favorably received and brought quick results. For someone who is not completely enlightened as to the complexity of the law, the matter is not clear enough. In this connection I have some questions for Andrzej Cubala, press spokesman of the Ministry of Justice.

[Reporter] First, as is known we had two acts of amnesty in only 2 years. Why has a different procedure been adopted now instead of an amnesty?

[Cubala] That depends on the authorities; the choice of measures depends on the state authorities. We have no precise knowledge of the reasons why the authorities decided on a different humanitarian act of clemency. But we can say, for instance, that applying an amnesty law too often devaluates this legal act, that this is a very small group of people and one may ask whether it is worth employing such an important legal act as a law.

[Reporter] A small group means over 300 people as far as I can recall from a government spokesman's press conference.

[Cubala] Yes, the number is close indeed to the one you mentioned. Previous acts, as we know, were declared in 1983 and 1984 and took the form of legal acts of utmost importance, while currently specific, individual decisions in specific cases are made. Thus, every case of so-called noncriminal offense is examined by court bodies. Such a court body may be a prosecutor, if the case is in a prosecutor's office; or it can be a court if, as a result of an indictment, procedures have already begun. A decision taken by such a body is an independent one, an independent court makes its own decision, as a prosecutor makes his own.

[Reporter] What is the legal basis of such steps. I resume that there are people who see it exclusively as an act of, let us call it, magnanimity by the authorities. Surely, this is true but there has to be some legal basis for such steps.

[Cubala] Indeed. Above all the penal law is applied. Let me recall the basic legal acts such as the Penal Code, the Code of Penal Procedures, and the Executory Penal Code. They envisage such situations. But let us give an example which makes a given, specific case more clear. Well, a prosecutor in a specific case can submit an application to a court to revoke a temporary arrest. This is obviously a humanitarian act because a person temporarily arrested is released. But -- and one has to add the word 'but' here -- proceedings before a court are continuing. In other words, a court sets a date for a trial, and examines a case. But let us go further. During a trial a prosecutor may apply for conditional discontinuance of procedures instead of unconditional imprisonment, and this is obviously a great humanitarian act. Here is another example: If a case is completed before a court, then a court can institute clemency procedures, can decide on a break in serving a sentence and finally can decide on conditional release from serving a remaining term.

[Reporter] Can that take place on a court's initiative?

[Cubala] Yes. A court can make such a decision by virtue of its office; but often it does so in reply to a prosecutor's proposal. These bodies cooperate with each other.

[Reporter] Let us move on to another matter. As is known from a government spokesman's conference, not everybody will be covered by the act. Who will not be covered?

[Cubala] That is correct. The courts of the prosecutor's offices, while deciding who is to be released or to whom certain legal means apply, first of all consider such circumstances as the previous life-style of a given person and the personality of a perpetrator. In other words, they consider all conditions related to a given person, particularly those such as family and health conditions. Most of all a prognosis is made to determine whether a given person will not violate legal order in the future, whether this person will observe not only the law but also the principles of social coexistence. We know that, for some people, the acts of clemency were applied many times, by this I mean the amnesty acts. But these persons were in permanent violation of the legal order, and that is why one may expect that the present humanitarian acts of clemency will not apply.

[Reporter] But as is known, these persons are in a decided minority if one refers to the 300-person group.

[Cubala] Yes, it can be said that there are exceptions, but the majority of people you mentioned are ones who, first, committed an offense of a lesser social danger, and second, were not previously penalized. They meet all conditions I mentioned a moment ago.

[Reporter] Here is the last matter, or rather a doubt. There are people who say that the law is very erratic. It means that while one time it penalizes for something, on another occasion, for the same deed, one can be released, even on a prosecutor's proposal. In other words, we sometimes apply the law more harshly and sometimes leniently.

[Cubala] Here lies the flexibility of the law. That is the first issue. Second, the law is used by the appropriate bodies. The bodies of the state authorities and the courts are such bodies. In this connection the matter you raised before returns -- namely, bodies of the state authorities can be harsh at one time and at another time, they can take a less harsh view through a prism of instruments which they have at their disposal. Here we see the humanitarianism of the authorities, which in certain circumstances punish harshly, and in others are magnanimous and generous.

GORYWODA DISCUSSES 1986 PLAN WITH JOURNALISTS

LD260402 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] Manfred Gorywoda, at a meeting with journalists, characterized the most important aims and conditions of the implementation of the Central Annual Plan for 1986. The plan for next year and, similarly, the 5-year period must be fulfilled in conditions of lower employment and smaller supplies of raw and other materials, energy and fuels. One should also take into consideration the necessity of servicing the existing debt, he said. An improvement in society's living conditions has been made a priority, and the supply of food is to increase by almost 3 percent. The supply of non-consumer goods is to increase by almost 4 percent. Next year, 200,000 apartments are planned to be built.

Manfred Gorywoda emphasized that the Central Annual Plan envisions a reduction in the rate of price increases, which is to remain within the limit of 8.5 to 9 percent.

GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM ASSESSES MARKET SUPPLIES

LD252023 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Report by station correspondent Marek Kassa]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, I said at the beginning of the program that the Government Presidium is in session. Our reporter Marek Kassa has just arrived in the studio. Here is his brief report:

The Government Presidium assessed the moneymarket situation in the three quarters of this year. The population's incomes rose both in comparison to the assumptions of the annual plan and to the same period last year. There was a parallel increase in the supplies of goods to the market, but not to such an extent as to meet demand. Despite this imbalance, stabilization is being achieved in selected spheres of production and supply. It emerges from forecasts that this trend will [words indistinct]. A considerable part of the increase in the population's financial resources, which amounted to 2489 billion in the three quarters of this year, are savings deposits, [words indistinct].

Wages reached the sum of 2727 billion and were 18 percent higher than in the same period last year. The amount of credits paid out increased, particularly for investment purposes and housing construction. The Government Presidium heard a report on market supplies up to the end of this year and in the first quarter of next year. It is estimated that supplies in December will be similar in quantity to last year's level. The structure of supplies of meat and meat products will be more favorable than in previous months. Of the meat, 40 percent will be pork. The accumulation of stocks of potatoes, fruit, and vegetables is going smoothly. Supplies of industrial goods will also be greater, although not always to an extent which will correspond to demand. Some shortages, woolen goods for example, will be made up for by import purchases. Organizational measures connected with guaranteeing efficient trading services during the pre-Christmas shopping period were undertaken.

The Government Presidium also assessed the implementation of the program of economies. The assumptions [words indistinct] contained in the 3-year plan will be implemented, but unfortunately with the exception of construction.

BRIEFS

NEW CONTRACTS WITH SOVIETS -- Warsaw, Nov 25 -- The Polish foreign trade enterprise "Elektrim" signed here today first agreements for next year's deliveries of Polish electro-engineering products to the Soviet market. One of the contracts, with the Soviet foreign trade enterprise "Mashpriborintorg," provides for the delivery of 650 thousand Polish-made telephone sets worth almost 12 million roubles to the Soviet market. This year, "Elektrim's" exports to the Soviet market will amount to about 370 million roubles. The enterprise aims to boost its sales to the Soviet Union every year. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 25 Nov 85 LD]

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES RCP CC PLENUM 14 NOV

AU190601 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Nov 85 pp 1, 2, 3

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to RCP Central Committee plenum held in Bucharest 13-14 November]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: In taking into account the importance of the questions on the agenda, from the very beginning I want to dwell on those I think should be the focus of this plenum and of our future activity.

The plenum of our Central Committee is discussing the 1986 socioeconomic development plan and other important questions regarding our socialist society. We are at the end of the last year of the current 1981-86 5-Year Plan that has ensured, even under difficult international economic conditions and despite certain domestic contradictions in the development of various branches of the national economy, the fulfillment of the plans aimed at elevating our homeland to a new level of development and at improving the material and cultural standard of living of all our people.

At the 12th RCP Congress and then at the National Conference of 1982 I drew attention to the fact that the 1981-85 5-Year Plan must be a period of consolidating achieved victories. In the 1970-80 period we advanced along a wide front and we covered a long stretch in implementing our strategic goals. Therefore, we must bear in mind the consolidation of what we have achieved and the creation of conditions to proceed to a new offensive -- if I may use military terminology -- regarding the development of our homeland in the future.

One can say that generally speaking we have achieved the proposed goals. We have not only succeeded in strengthening what we have previously achieved, but also in advancing, although slowly, the development of our homeland and the building of a comprehensively developed socialist society.

In the 1981-85 period net production increased at an average annual rate of more than 6 percent, thus being 36 percent higher than in 1980. During the same period the national income increased by almost 6 percent, thus being 32 percent higher than in 1980. In the 5-year plan we are concluding this year, industrial goods production increased at a more than 4 percent annual rate while agricultural output increased some 2.5 percent.

In the Seventh 5-Year Plan, too, we allocated some 29 percent of the national income for the development fund. Thus, investments increased by almost 8 percent throughout the 5-year plan. All branches of the national economy developed accordingly.

I also deem it appropriate to stress the successes achieved in this timespan in research, education, and culture: factors of particular significance in ensuring the general progress of our socialist homeland.

In the current 5-year plan, the volume of foreign trade increased by more than 29 percent. That is an annual rate of more than 5 percent, of which exports recorded an increase of some 9 percent and imports 1.5 percent.

Labor productivity increased by more than 16 percent and material and production costs were reduced, thus ensuring a greater increase in the efficiency of the national economy.

I think that I must especially stress the increase by some 8 percent of the real pay of the working people throughout this 5-year plan as well as the increase by more than 12 percent of the incomes of our peasantry. During the 5-year plan we are concluding this year, goods sales in comparable prices increased by more than 8 percent, while public services increased almost 60 percent.

On the basis of facts and undeniable realities, one can state with justified pride that in the current 5-year plan our socialist society registered progress in all areas by overcoming many difficulties. This obviously demonstrates the correctness of the policy practiced by our party that is creatively applying the general truths and laws to the specific conditions in Romania, thus ensuring the firm advance of our homeland on the road of socialism toward communism. (loud, prolonged applause)

However, we must state openly before the party and all of our people that even under the 1981-85 5-Year Plan conditions, we could have registered better results. Apart from general causes, there were also a number of serious failings in organizing the production process and in making better use of production capacities and the labor force. Not all managements in ministries and in the other central bodies have acted with great responsibility in fulfilling their tasks. At the same time, certain failings were obvious in the activity carried out by working people's councils in centrals and units.

Now, at the end of the current 5-year plan, we must draw all necessary conclusions from the activity carried out and take the necessary measures to eliminate negative states of affairs and improve activity in all areas.

I believe that we have everything we need is available, especially a powerful party and a workers class that is fulfilling its historic mission as the leading class of our society under favorable conditions. We also have peasants and intellectuals who are properly fulfilling their tasks in all areas. Therefore, we are fully convinced that we will be able to proceed to fulfilling the next 5-year plan under favorable conditions with the guarantee that we will implement the 13th RCP Congress decisions. (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, the 1986 plan marks the transition to the Eighth 5-Year Plan and Romania's entrance into a higher stage of socioeconomic development.

Our activity must focus on the 13th party congress decisions, the program of building a comprehensively developed socialist society, and Romania's advance toward communism.

From a socioeconomic viewpoint, in the new 5-year plan our country must proceed from the stage of a developing socialist country to the stage of a medium developed country. While by the year 2000, it must turn into a multilaterally developed country from all viewpoints, and must create the necessary conditions for the more vigorous assertion of the communist principles in our society. All this requires the achievement of a new quality in the work and life of our whole people.

As part and parcel of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the 1986 uniform national plan for socioeconomic development stipulates an 8-9 percent increase in industrial goods production, a 15 percent increase in net production, and a 6-7 percent increase in agricultural output.

I want to draw attention to the fact that due to certain nonfulfillments this year, the development index in the first year of the next 5-year plan is set somewhat higher than in the 1986-90 5-Year Plan provisions.

However, we must take all necessary measures to achieve, now, in the first year, a high development rate, thus creating all necessary conditions so that in the coming years and throughout the next 5-year plan we will implement the development indexes set by the 13th party congress.

We will place special emphasis on proceeding from extensive development to intensive development -- a goal we have in fact begun to implement in the Seventh 5-Year Plan -- and to achieving better quality in our overall activity.

All units and ministries must pay special attention to improving the quality and technological level of the production process. Determined action must be taken to strengthen quality control instruments, so that products that leave the factories will meet the quality requirements and the technological level set by the development plans and the technical and research programs in keeping with the requirements of our national economy and exports.

In 1986 and throughout the 1986-90 5-Year Plan we will continue to pay special attention to a balanced socioeconomic development of all our counties. The total minimum output for each county will amount to some 80,000 lei per capita in 1990, of which 50,000 lei will represent industrial output.

It is well known that the trend toward a balanced development of the forces of production in our homeland has contributed to the flourishing of all counties and of hundreds upon hundreds of localities, to the creation of new industrial platforms, and to ensuring conditions for the achievement of real equality of rights among all working people and citizens in our homeland as well as conditions for access to all achievements of our socialist civilization. (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, one of the most important issues of next year's plan is the energy problem. In past years we have faced a number of difficulties and certain failings continue to exist in the energy field. We have energy production capacities that can ensure our energy requirements. Unfortunately, coal-fuelled power plants are not working properly and owing to drought, hydropower plants are operating at least 1,000 megawatts below capacity per day. Lately, we have taken a number of measures to ensure the necessary energy by producing more energy based on hydrocarbons. This has required additional oil imports.

It is necessary for us to take measures to appropriately fulfill the energy program in order to ensure the proper operation of electrical power plants and especially of coal-fuelled power plants. I do not want to get into detail. We have discussed these problems with the managerial council of the ministry and with county party committees and it seems that the measures adopted have yielded and are yielding positive results. We must, however, intensify our activity so that in the months to come, that is, during winter, we will no longer face energy problems. Certainly this will be so if energy is saved and if energy resources are used rationally.

We must take all necessary measures to ensure that the first nuclear power plant and all other coal-fuelled power plants or hydropower plants that are under construction are put into operation.

We must do all we can so that by the end of next year we will be able to ensure everything that is necessary -- I am referring to putting projects into operation -- in order to appropriately resolve the energy problem for the production process and for meeting all other energy requirements.

All sectors must act with greater responsibility to apply new technologies regarding cutting back on energy consumption, which continues to be too high. As a matter of fact, I would also like to stress at this plenum, that we are consuming almost twice as much energy per national income unit as a number of developed countries. This means that we have high consumption and that the raw material utilization rate is incorrect.

Firm measures are also necessary in the mining field in order to achieve quality coal production. We must particularly ensure the fulfillment of the program for coking coal. Measures must also be taken to fulfill the plan in other fields of the mining industry regarding various iron ores and useful substances. Firm measures are also necessary to fulfill the oil extraction plan and to increase the degree of recoverability.

In both the mining and oil sectors, more determined measures are necessary to strengthen order and discipline, to firmly apply the new pay system and the overall contract system, and to properly organize overall activity. We have the necessary production capacities and technological means to implement the plan provisions in both sectors under favorable conditions.

Great responsibility rests on metallurgy, chemistry, and the construction materials industry in ensuring raw and other material bases for the overall economy. In all these sectors a greater sense of responsibility and initiative is required in promoting what is new and in manufacturing new and better materials, while substantially reducing energy and raw material consumption. In actual fact, the plenum should also know that these three sectors consume almost half of the total energy output. That is why cutting back consumption and introducing new technologies are imperatively necessary and, to a more serious extent, must be the central focus of the attention of the three ministries, of the relevant research institutes, and of the working people's councils.

All three machine-building ministries must ensure the best of conditions for item-specified high-quality and highly technical machine and equipment production.

I want to draw attention to the fact that in all these three sectors serious failings were obvious this year: such as the on-time delivery of equipment and machinery, something that led to great difficulties for other branches of the national economy with serious implications for our overall development, including the fulfillment of investment projects.

As I have mentioned on other occasions, we have made big investments and have created a modern machine-building industry matching world level. Thus, it is necessary that production in these sectors should also match the highest world level. This requires the leadership in the three ministries, the managerial councils in centrals and units, and all working people to strengthen their responsibility, discipline, and order and to take firm measures so that next year negative states of affairs will be completely eliminated.

At the same time, our light and food industry must do all they can to appropriately fulfill the production needed for proper supplies for the people and for other requirements of the national economy by proceeding from the need to make better use of raw materials, increase efficiency and product quality, and constantly reduce consumption per product unit.

Very serious measures are necessary to ensure the proper operation of transportation, and reduce fuel consumption and transportation costs.

We discussed this problem recently with the Political Executive Committee and the decisions adopted are known. However, I believe that the managerial council of the Ministry of Transport must take more responsible action to strengthen discipline and order, and to carry out its transportation work under optimal conditions. Our transportation means can properly meet all our requirements. In conformity with decisions adopted by the Political Executive Committee, we must act with great determination to more vigorously develop railroad transportation, and substantially reduce automobile transportation since it is 10 times more expensive.

In order to fulfill our plan, firm measures are necessary to ensure the material-technological base of the production process. The plan envisages, with a certain leeway, everything that is necessary. However, I want to draw attention to the fact that in drafting the plan, especially as far as materials are concerned, we took into account the trend toward increasing certain material consumption, toward exceeding or not observing the consumption norms put forward, and the trend toward introduction into production certain products with higher consumption than existing ones, although at world level and in our plan for technological progress, stress is placed on manufacturing new products with a lower energy, raw material, and other material consumption.

We established that, in accordance with the plan provisions, we should review the material balance sheet by reducing some unjustified consumption. I think the plenum will agree that the government should act to achieve these reductions before the Grand National Assembly [GNA] discussions, as this is a requirement to ensure that the activities are carried out under favorable conditions and to increase efficiency. Thus, on this basis, the national income and the necessary means for the country's development and for elevating the people's general well-being can be ensured. Therefore, it is necessary to strictly observe the consumption norms and to act continuously to reduce energy, raw material, and other material consumption.

At the same time, more resolute measures are required to recover and reuse materials, parts, and subassemblies in all fields of activity. In this respect, the current provisions regarding recovery and reutilization cannot be considered satisfactory. We still have great reserves and it is necessary for us to carry out the required improvements before the GNA discusses the plan.

During the new 5-year plan period, we have to achieve an important volume of investments in all fields of activity: particularly in the fields of mining, energy, chemistry, and metallurgy, that is, in the sectors that are producing the raw and basic materials necessary for the development of the national economy. We must take all necessary steps to achieve all investments in due time and to put all capacities into production on schedule, in order to improve projects introducing new technologies for reducing energy and material consumption and for producing material with superior characteristics. We must see to it that the investments ensure the implementation of the objectives established by the RCP congress regarding intensive development and the achievement of new qualities in all fields of activity!

Particular attention must be paid to the more marked increase of labor productivity in all fields of activity, based on the scientific organization of production and work, on mechanization, automation, and by introducing electronics and robotics in production.

It is necessary to act with more determination to more markedly reduce material and production expenditures and to increase efficiency in all fields of activity.

In all fields of activity we have everything necessary to fulfill the plan provisions and to increase the role of our socialist industry in the overall development of our fatherland, in elevating the people's well-being, and in strengthening Romania's defense capabilities, independence, and sovereignty. (strong, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, in the field of agriculture, the plan provisions envisage a strong production increase in all sectors. In this field we took into consideration the fact that this year we had a special situation caused by drought. This is why the development indexes are somewhat higher, but completely attainable. Thus, we must start from the need to unflinchingly implement the provisions regarding the increase of agricultural production for next year.

In the future, grain production must also be placed at the center of all activity. In this respect, it is necessary to better utilize the land stock and achieve secondary crops on at least 2 million hectares per year, thus, concretely increasing the country's tillable land by 20 percent.

Decisive measures must be taken to fulfill the irrigation and land improvement program, taking into consideration the fact -- proven by reality -- that only by carrying out irrigation and land improvement work can we ensure a stable yield under all climatic conditions.

At the same time, it is necessary to ensure a more marked increase in horticulture: vegetable and fruit growing, wine producing, as well as industrial plant cultivation.

Henceforth, particular attention must also be paid to increasing animal breeding and products of animal origin. We must never forget that only by achieving the established number of animals and the appropriate production can we ensure a good supply of food products to the population and meet the other needs of the country.

I do not wish to refer in detail to the problems included in the plan regarding the field of agriculture. You have studied them and the plan will be released. As a matter of fact, at the end of this year we will have a special meeting on agricultural issues.

Nevertheless, I will again refer to agricultural problems when I speak of the problems of the party and state bodies' activities, because it is necessary to stress the fact that, even under this year's circumstances, if work had been carried out with full responsibility in all agricultural sectors, in all units, and in all counties, we could have exceeded last year's crop. There is no doubt that the drought caused us many difficulties. But most difficulties were created by the unsatisfactory activity carried out by many agricultural bodies, many management councils of the agricultural units, and, unfortunately, by many party activists, including some county party committees and county people's councils.

But I said that I would again refer to these problems, because we must discuss them very seriously within the plenum and we will probably organize a special plenary meeting on the way work has been carried out by party and state bodies in managing the entire socioeconomic activity.

At the same time, along with our concern to achieve agricultural production, we must secure, under appropriate conditions, the state stock of agricultural products and foodstuffs. All counties and units must understand that securing the state stock is a patriotic duty and obligation that nobody should shun. Any nonfulfillment of this duty means violating the laws of the country, the norms of socialist ethics and equity, and the very statutory norms of RCP membership.

All counties and units must understand that territorial self-management and self-sufficiency does not mean consumption by oneself only and nonfulfillment of duties toward society and the state stock. As a matter of fact, the laws of the country are very clear in this respect and do not leave any room for interpretation.

The agenda includes the program for territorial self-sufficiency for 1986. This program's provisions include everything necessary for a good supply to the population and for the continuous increase of the people's standard of living.

As of this fall and the beginning of 1986, we will firmly apply the provisions of territorial self-management and self-sufficiency, meaning that every county will know -- for example, regarding meat supply -- how many animals of each kind and of the established weight have to be slaughtered, in order to thus ensure meat supply.

In Bucharest we established a special trust that will administer the animal stock for meat production and, at the same time, for milk and vegetable products. Thus, we will firmly apply the principles of self-management and self-sufficiency. Although not all units are on its territory, this trust is under Bucharest Municipality party committee jurisdiction and under the jurisdiction of the ministry, thus being under double jurisdiction. The Bucharest Municipality party committee has the right to control and take the necessary measures so that the units supplying the capital ensure everything required.

Every county has the necessary means and, in accordance with this, how much it can and should consume according to the plan provisions has been established. The slaughter weight for any kind of animal is not too great. Thus, there is a possibility of obtaining an additional quantity of meat by increasing the slaughter weight of the number of animals planned for slaughter in every county. Every additional quantity attained, through increasing the slaughter weight, remains in the respective county. I am referring here to the number of animals that can be slaughtered in that county. I do not want to refer to the other fields of vegetable and fruit growing, and wine producing, in which, even more markedly, every county has to take the necessary measures to ensure all that is necessary for a good supply, but only by strictly observing that the amounts established by the plan and everything included in it are delivered to the state stock on schedule.

Esteemed comrades, in 1986, we will increase our economic exchanges and production sharing with the CEMA countries and with all the socialist countries. We are determined to act firmly to implement the programs and decisions established at last year's CEMA summit meeting on economic issues, with a view to better specialization, a rational utilization of all production capacities, increasing the technical and quality level of production, and appropriately fulfilling, within CEMA, all energy, raw, and other material needs. At the same time, we are determined to participate actively in the complex program of research and technical progress, and thus also ensure the needs of the socialist countries in this field, as well as ensure the fast development of our countries based on the latest technologies.

We believe that in the CEMA countries we have many possibilities of fulfilling the established programs in order to obtain the strong development of our countries during the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan period and up to the year 2000, and, through this fact, we can demonstrate the superiority of the socialist economies and the acceptability of socialism! (strong applause)

As I have already stressed, we will cooperate broadly in all fields of activity -- including scientific and technological fields -- with all the other socialist countries which are not CEMA countries.

We believe that this cooperation is of particular importance for the general development of the socialist countries and for increasing the prestige of socialism throughout the world and its role in the struggle for peace and social progress. (loud applause)

At the same time, we will continue to expand cooperation with the developing countries, develop appropriate exchanges with the developed capitalist countries by basing these relations on the principles of equality and mutual advantage, and participate actively in the international division of labor.

Taking account of the world economic situation, especially of the financial situation and the inordinately high interest rates, we will continue to develop barter trade that has proven to be effective and very important in expanding balanced and mutually advantageous economic exchanges. The volume of international economic exchanges will increase some 15 percent as compared with 1985.

We will act with great determination to achieve balanced foreign trade and eliminate our foreign debts. What we have in mind next year is to pay back some 30 percent of the foreign debts we still have, in order to thus eliminate all our foreign debts in the shortest time possible.

I want to inform the plenum that if we take into account solely the balance of our foreign debt -- considering that an important sum of money is also due to us -- this balance amounts to some \$4 billion, a sum that no longer poses particular problems and permits us to pay off our foreign debts completely and in a relatively short period of time. We will, however, continue to grant trade credits in accordance with practices on the international market, to develop production sharing, and to participate in the construction of socioeconomic projects in a number of countries.

National income will increase by some 12 percent. The consumption fund will represent some 70 percent and the development fund 30 percent. We continue to proceed from the fact that the allocation of an important percentage of the national income for development purposes is an objective requirement and is the responsibility of our generation toward the future of the Romanian socialist nation.

Generally speaking, it is necessary for us to act with great determination to further consolidate and strengthen our financial system and the purchasing power of our national currency. This is a very important factor in the general development of our socialist society and in increasing its material potential and the standard of living of our people.

We must apply more firmly the new economic-financial mechanism, self-management, and self-administration in all areas. We have registered a number of positive results, but we must also stress that there are still a number of failings to be noted. There are still managerial councils and leadership cadres who understand self-management as being able to spend and consume without accounting for it, and asking for state credits and subsidies. We must completely eliminate such states of affairs. Self-management and self-administration require each unit to carry out its activity on the basis of economic principles, require it to have its own budget, ensure its incomes, and, on this basis, necessary production costs. This requires each unit to be efficient, achieve maximum profits, and appropriately deliver to society both what has been spent for the given unit and what is due for the general development of society and for the strengthened defense capacity of the country. Thus, ensuring and achieving profits and accordingly delivering an important amount of those profits to society is part and parcel of self-management and self-administration. I believe that our financial and economic bodies and the managerial councils must act with greater determination and must understand that only by applying this kind of new economic mechanism can we speak of a change in the mode of management and administration of our units.

We believe that we have to continue to improve this new economic mechanism. First, I have in mind a more vigorous increase in the responsibility of managerial councils, of cadres and of working people as owners, producers, and end-users. As for increasing responsibility in the application of the new economic mechanism and in self-management, I also have in mind an appropriate material responsibility of the managerial cadres. All those active in the administration of the wealth of all our people or the wealth of cooperative members, must also assume material responsibility for the way in which this wealth is administered. We will proceed along two lines: direct personal responsibility and the collective responsibility of all working people in the given unit with regard to the profit participation fund. It must be understood that one cannot accept that the administration and husbanding of units with fixed assets amounting to a billion lei should be left to chance and that we should be content to just practice criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism cannot replace responsibility toward society for improper management or for the theft of commodities, and for damage thus caused to all of our people! It must be part and parcel of the economic mechanism and of self-management and self-administration!

We must vigorously develop the sentiment of ownership of the working people in all areas and their sense of responsibility for developing and protecting state and cooperative socialist property. We must never forget that the basis of our system, of generally elevating our country's standard of living, of strengthening our defense capability, and of advancing toward communism, are closely linked with consolidating and strengthening state and cooperative socialist property! This constitutes and will continue to constitute the socialist and communist future of our homeland and of communism in general! (loud applause)

We must reject with great determination certain ideas that can be heard here and there. It is true these are not heard in our country, but I cannot say that there are no people with such ideas in our country; I can only say that they do not voice their opinions regarding a certain reduced role and importance of the common property of working people and regarding the stimulation, in one form or another, of certain forms of private property. Such tendencies and ideas are completely at variance with socialist principles and with the fact that our people have eliminated the capitalist ownership over the means of production and distribution for good and will by no means accept such ownership in Romania! (loud applause)

As a matter of fact, many of us have known in the not too distant past what capitalist-private ownership meant. It is well known that Romania was unable to develop either its industry or its agriculture. You recall the outputs achieved under the system of small-scale private or capitalist ownership. We know this not from hearsay; we know it from practice and from our own experience. Therefore, making a comparison with the great achievements registered in socialism and in conditions of our state and cooperative socialist ownership, we believe that our socialist ownership is much superior to capitalist ownership, it being the only one to ensure progress, and the well-being and independence of all people! (loud applause)

Therefore, life and realities have confirmed that only on the basis of the common ownership of the working people, on the basis of state and cooperative ownership, can one ensure the vigorous development of the forces of production, an improved standard of living and well-being of the people, and the advance on the road to socialism and communism. (loud, prolonged applause)

It is certainly necessary for us to constantly act to perfect the forms of material incentive by most optimally blending the socialist principle of remuneration with increasing the responsibility and contribution of each individual to the country's general development.

We must constantly improve the leadership and planning forms of all sectors of activity. As I have stated on other occasions, we must never think that what we have achieved up to now is everything. We must bear in mind that along with the development of the society's forces of production, and of science and culture, we must seek new forms of leadership and planning that must, however, always proceed from socialist principles and from the need to strengthen and develop the socialist state and cooperative property.

We must develop our collective leadership bodies and strengthen their role in the leadership of the overall society. The role of general meetings, of all working people, and of all our people must increase in the conscious building of their own future, of socialism and communism! Without socialist democracy and without the people's participation in the leadership of society, one cannot build socialism and communism! (loud prolonged, applause)

Esteemed comrades, the optimal fulfillment of the 1986 plan requires intensified research activity and a more determined introduction of technological progress in all areas. We have proper provisions in this respect. Soon the science and education congress will take place that will extensively discuss these problems. Therefore, I do not want to dwell now on the importance of this activity.

It is also necessary to take very firm measures to improve cadres' training and to improve their technical and professional level. We must state with great emphasis that many, or a number, of the failings we have are the result of a certain lagging behind from the point of view of cadres' training, of their technical and professional level, and of the lack of the workers' sense of responsibility in the production process.

We must very firmly implement the programs on training the labor force for reassignment in all sectors of activity and we must develop the revolutionary workers' spirit in all areas. Outputs, quality, the technological level, economic efficiency, and productivity can be achieved only with highly trained people characterized by great discipline and responsibility. We must act so that our workers class, our engineers, technicians, our peasantry, and all working people will be elevated to the level of the requirements of the new stage of development. We must see to it that their level of revolutionary awareness increases as a people whose aim it is to build a new society in which they are the owners, producers, and masters of everything that is being produced in Romania! (loud applause)

We must pay particular attention to stability among cadres and the labor force. In some areas we have great fluctuations that are unacceptable. However, it is necessary to stress that where good work has been performed, things have become stable. You must be aware of what problems we had not many years ago with the labor force in construction. Due to the application of the overall contract system and proper organization, there are no longer such problems or great problems with the labor force in that sector. As a matter of fact, as we discussed at the Political Executive Committee meeting, labor productivity in construction also increased this year by more than 10 percent. Thus, the problem of stability among cadres and the labor force is linked with training, with the necessary organizational measures, with the firm application of the principle of material incentive, with intensified political education work, and with elevating the level of socialist awareness.

Our homeland's new development stage requires, as an objective need, perfecting our leadership and increasing the responsibility of the party and state bodies. Each party and state activist must be permeated with a great revolutionary sense of responsibility toward the party and state and toward all our people! The spirit of sacrifice, honesty, responsibility, and discipline is a compulsory requirement for the party and state activist, for the communist, and for each member of our party!

I am stressing this, comrades, because this year we have been confronted with a number of negative signs and with the fact that some activists entrusted with responsible work have not acted responsibly in implementing the plans and programs put forward. This happened, for instance, in the energy field, a fact that led to measures with which you are familiar. However, in other sectors we have faced such things as well, namely, poor responsibility and exactingness regarding the measures necessary to fulfill the tasks entrusted by the party, state, and our people.

There are also signs of dishonor -- as it were -- and of hiding realities from the party and state. Such states of affairs have also been noted in agriculture, beginning with the ministry leadership which has shown a great lack of responsibility in following how problems are being solved in this area, especially as regards the harvesting of crops, deliveries to the state stock, and regarding the presentation of real facts on the situation of agriculture.

As I have stated, we have also faced such things in a number of party and state bodies in our counties. Probably some of the first secretaries will take the floor and say all these things; I do not want to refer to them. But if they will not do so, I will feel obligated, during these discussions, to intervene myself. However, I would prefer those comrades to do this themselves; I would like them to come to this plenum and to describe what action they have taken, or what action they have failed to take, to fulfill the tasks entrusted to them by the party and state.

Speaking honestly, sometimes I have the impression that some activists believe that once appointed to a leading position, they can take the liberty to disregard the country's decisions and laws. It seems that some activists believe that if they have been elected to the Central Committee or the Political Executive Committee, they do not have to take all necessary measures to ensure the application of the party and state decisions at their workplace. I personally have always known that to be a member of the Central Committee or the Political Executive Committee, to be a minister or hold some other leading position, means great responsibility and it means to act with even greater determination and exactingness to implement decisions and not to accept any infringement or violation of the state's laws and the party's decisions. This is an elementary requirement for each party member and all the more so for a party leader! Those who do not understand this place themselves on their own outside the party bodies and the party itself. We are not a discussion club; we are a revolutionary party and we must stay a revolutionary party struggling for socialism, for communism, and for the well-being of our people and for their independence! (loud applause)

The states of affairs that were noted this fall are unacceptable. We have discussed these problems with all counties during teleconferences in which a major part of the Central Committee members participated. I said more during the teleconference, but at this plenum I also want to stress the need to eliminate such states of affairs completely. We cannot and will not tolerate any tendency to hide realities from the party, state, and our people! This is an attitude that is at variance with the position of an RCP member and we will judge things accordingly! Each must understand -- beginning with our basic cadres -- that we are duty-bound to do all we can to implement the party decisions and firmly apply the country's laws in order to ensure everything needed by our people, with a view to advancing on the road to socialism and communism! This is our obligation and any other attitude or position of ignoring or concealing certain negative states of affairs, or of presenting realities inappropriately is at variance with the state's principles and with the principles on which our party's and state's activity is based.

Comrades, I felt obligated to raise these problems before this plenum. As a matter of fact, during the teleconference I said I would do so, because I believe that they are very grave problems that cannot be tolerated and accepted by any means in the activity of a party activist!

We must draw all necessary conclusions from these negative states of affairs as regards the work style of the party activists and the party and state bodies. We must act so that such things no longer happen in our party under any circumstances! All of us are duty-bound to do all we can at our workplace to ensure the resolute implementation of the country's laws and party decisions, and to ensure the fulfillment of the production plan and of the state's duties toward society! Any other reasoning, any thought aimed at covering up for one person or another -- as proof of a humanitarian spirit -- is incorrect reasoning and at variance with the interests of our nation and the communist principles! Responsibility toward the people and party requires honesty. It requires that everything be said in front of the party; it requires not covering up and not hiding anything! We are a family of almost 23 million people. Everything that is being produced belongs to the overall society, to this whole family, and no one should consume more and waste because of I do not know what narrow-minded and self considerations!

Once again I want to stress that we must draw all necessary conclusions from these negative aspects that have been noted and act with great responsibility and determination to instill a sense of great responsibility, honesty, discipline, and order into all areas.

Proceeding from these states of affairs, I believe that we must intensify the political-educational activity of fashioning the new man with a revolutionary awareness. This is a particularly important factor for the successful progress of our overall activity!

We must also firmly combat any chauvinist, nationalist, and racist signs. We must take a firm position toward actions by foreign reactionary, imperialist, neofascist, and revanchist circles, no matter in what form or wherever they may be! We are very familiar with fascism, chauvinism, and revanchism and we must take very determined action so that they will never again occur in our country. We must struggle against such manifestations no matter where they emerge and we must also oppose them at an international level. This is a requirement of the struggle for peace, for socialism, and for the development of international solidarity!

In our political-educational activity we must also vigorously develop patriotic education and a sense of international solidarity with all progressive and anti-imperialist forces, and with all peoples in the struggle for socioeconomic progress and peace.

Let us proceed, now and in 1986, from the firm determination to improve our activity in all areas and to do all we can to implement the 13th party congress decisions and the party program! Everything we need is available and we must act to match the trust and responsibility devolving on us toward the party and our people! (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, I want to refer briefly to current international issues. You have studied the documents of the Political Consultative Committee meeting [of the Warsaw Pact] that was recently held in Sofia. We believe that the documents jointly and unanimously adopted demonstrate the desire of our socialist countries to act with great determination to halt the dangerous trend of events, the policy of military confrontation, and to resume the policy of detente, cooperation, and peace.

The basic issues continue to be those concerning halting the arms race, disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and ensuring the vital right of people and nations to existence, freedom, independence, and the right to peace and life!

Unfortunately, the arms race continues. Further nuclear weapons have been deployed in Europe and this has increased the danger of a nuclear war even more, a war that would inevitably turn into a nuclear catastrophe that would destroy the very condition for the existence of life on our planet.

As is well known, all this time our party, government, and the SR of Romania have acted and continue to act with great determination to achieve disarmament and nuclear disarmament on earth. We have acted against the militarization of space, and for peace. We believe that it is necessary for us to intensify this activity in the future.

In a week's time the Geneva meeting will take place between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States. Without a doubt, this meeting is of great significance under the current circumstances, taking into account the fact that the two great powers possess almost all nuclear weapons and that they should both be the first to reduce nuclear weapons substantially and halt the militarization of outer space. We hope that at this meeting the two sides will act with great responsibility toward the interests of all peoples, of peace, and our civilization. We hope that appropriate and mutually acceptable accords will be achieved. We believe that the proposals made by the Soviet Union are a positive basis for this, as we also believe that a number of U.S. proposals are an appropriate basis for reaching mutually acceptable accords between the two great powers.

At the same time, however, we must frankly state that the problems of peace, disarmament, eliminating nuclear weapons, halting the militarization of outer space, and disarmament in general are tasks and concerns for all peoples in the world, irrespective of size or social system. It is therefore necessary for us to intensify, together with other states and peoples, actions to achieve disarmament and safeguard peace. All peoples, especially those in Europe, must do all they can to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear missiles first and then all nuclear weapons, and proceed to disarmament, to a general reduction of troops and arms, and to halting the militarization of outer space.

We also believe that it is necessary to proceed to cutting back on military expenditures by all states and, certainly, first and foremost by the states of the two military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Since discussions are underway and proposals have been made on an up to 50 percent reduction of certain kinds of very expensive weapons, and since it has been stressed that action must be taken to cut back on weapons in general, why then must military expenditures continue when the current balance of forces is such that a certain equilibrium has been reached between the two sides? Nothing justifies on either side the continuation of military spending which creates further difficulties in the development of the national economies of all states, including the socialist countries, and, of course difficulties in improving peoples' standard of living.

We believe that proceeding to reducing military expenditures would be fully in keeping with military requirements, with the need to strengthen trust, and with the economic requirements of socialist construction and economic development in general. It would also be in keeping with improving the peoples' well-being! (loud applause)

With great determination we advocate positive results at the Stockholm Conference, the Vienna Conference, and the Geneva Disarmament Conference which can play an important role in achieving progress on the road to disarmament and to strengthening trust among states.

We advocate a nuclear-free zone without foreign military bases in the Balkans. Although some of the Balkan countries are discussing certain problems, we believe that it is in the interests of all states in this area to overcome differences and to take joint action to achieve an area of peaceful cooperation, a nuclear-free area that will ensure better and better developmental conditions for our peoples. We also advocate such areas in the north and center of Europe and in other parts of the world.

Under the current international circumstances, we believe that everything must be done to halt military conflicts and to resolve disputes between states by negotiations alone. It is in this light that the solemn appeal Romania presented at the United Nations should be understood, an appeal that was adopted unanimously.

Generally speaking and taking account of the problems that are still to be resolved in the world, we believe that very determined action must be taken to completely renounce any interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, to unflinchingly observe the principles of equality of rights, of national independence and sovereignty, and each people's right to decide its developmental road without any outside interference. An appropriate solution through negotiations of some of the current conflicts and problems would be of particular importance for improving the international atmosphere, for developing trust and cooperation, and for progress on the road to disarmament and safeguarding peace in the world!

We pay special attention to the problem of underdevelopment. We firmly support the struggle waged by the developing countries for a new, more just, and equitable economic order. We advocate a comprehensive solution to the problem of foreign debts and other problems in order to pave the way for the socioeconomic progress of the developing countries and for ensuring economic stability and the surmounting of the economic crisis in the world.

We are firmly convinced that the sooner these problems are resolved, the sooner conditions will be created to overcome the world economic crisis and to ensure a balanced development of all states and a general improvement of the peoples' standard of living. This is also an imperative requirement for a policy of peace, detente, and international cooperation!

True, there are many grave international problems, but we can state, without fear of being wrong, that the balance of forces is such that a change in the current international situation can be achieved. By acting in complete unity, peace-loving, progressive, anti-imperialist, and realist forces and peoples everywhere can change the current trend of events, can determine the achievement of disarmament and the assertion of a policy of peace, of peaceful coexistence, and cooperation on equal footing among all nations in the world! (loud applause)

We are determined that in the spirit of the 13th party congress decisions and our foreign policy in general -- a policy that proves to be in keeping with the interests of our nation and of all peoples in the world -- we will continue to act with great determination in the direction of developing relations with all socialist countries, with the developing countries, with the developed capitalist countries, and with the whole world irrespective of social system. We are determined to do all we can to contribute to the triumph of reason, to disarmament, peace, and to ensuring a free and independent future for our nation and for all nations throughout the world. (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, 45 days are left until the end of this year and the conclusion of the 1981-85 5-Year Plan. We must act with great determination in the coming days and weeks to fulfill this year's plan under favorable conditions.

We must also do all we can to complete fall plowing and all other work as soon as possible to ensure next year's crops; we must conclude the delivery of all agricultural produce to the state stock and for the fodder stock, and we must implement the provisions of the self-sufficiency program under favorable conditions.

We must also intensify thorough preparations for proceeding -- beginning the first day of next year -- to fulfilling the 1986 plan and the 13th party congress decisions under favorable conditions.

I want to express the conviction that all party organizations and bodies -- from bottom to top or from top to bottom -- all state bodies, and all working people's councils must act in complete unity with the working people in order to rally the efforts of all our people to responsibly fulfill the tasks entrusted to them and to welcome the new year with positive results in all areas!

With this conviction, I want to extend to all party organizations and bodies, to all state bodies, to the working people's councils, and all our people wishes for further great successes in all areas and much good health and happiness! (loud, prolonged applause)

Ceausescu's Closing Speech

AU191524 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Nov 85 p 1

[Speech by RCP secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu at the end of the proceedings of the RCP Central Committee plenum, in Bucharest on 14 November 1985]

Esteemed comrades: The discussions of the RCP Central Committee plenum and the unanimous endorsement of the resolution -- which, at the same time, means the unanimous endorsement of all the documents on the agenda that have been discussed -- express the unanimous and complete determination of the Central Committee to act to implement this year's plan and the 5-year plan, under the best conditions and to ensure thorough preparations to fulfill the plan for 1986, the first year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan period.

Indeed, the problems discussed by the plenum were such that they required a firmer, more determined position concerning some negative situations in order to proceed more resolutely to improvement activity in all fields. I believe that the discussions held show the possibility that all the party bodies and organizations, all the state bodies, and the working people's councils will draw the necessary conclusions and this fact will be reflected in the activity of each party and state organ and of all working people's collectives to fulfill the 13th RCP Congress decisions and the party program of building a comprehensively developed socialist society.

With this belief, I would like to express my conviction that all the Central Committee members will act most resolutely at their workplaces to implement all decisions we unanimously adopted and will be among the first to unflinchingly implement these decisions and apply the laws of the country and to instill a spirit of high responsibility and exactingness, a revolutionary, and communist spirit in all fields of activity.

With this conviction, I declare the RCP Central Committee proceedings closed and I wish you all success in your activity. (prolonged, loud applause)

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON VISIT BY BULGARIA'S FILIPOV

AU250942 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Nov 85 P 5

["Communique on the Visit of Friendship to Our Country of Comrade Grisha Filipov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria" from 22 to 23 November]

[Text] At the invitation of Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, Comrade Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, paid a visit of friendship to our country from 22 to 23 November 1985.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, received Comrade Grisha Filipov. On this occasion, a cordial exchange of messages took place between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

During his stay in the SR of Romania, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria visited the enterprise of machine-tools and aggregates in Bucharest and the enterprise of machine-building and heavy machinery in Giurgiu.

The talks between the prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria took place in an atmosphere of full understanding, mutual trust, and respect.

The two heads of government briefed each other on current tasks of socialist construction in the two countries aimed at implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions and the 12th BCP Congress decisions and examined the stage of and prospects for bilateral relations.

It was noted with satisfaction that the traditional Romanian-Bulgarian relations of friendship and cooperation are constantly strengthening and expanding on the lasting basis of the principles and goals of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance of 1970.

The two sides stressed the decisive importance of the frequent meetings and talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to continue to develop and enrich bilateral relations in all areas.

It was stressed with satisfaction that the decisions and understandings concluded at the summit level are being implemented successfully; Romanian-Bulgarian political ties are developing actively; and that meetings, exchanges of experience, and consultations between representatives of the party leaderships, parliaments, governments, and mass and civic organizations are intensifying.

The two chiefs of government thoroughly examined economic and scientific-technological cooperation and prospects for its development in the 1986-90 period. It was noted that in conformity with understandings adopted at the summit level, with the implementation of the long-term program on development economic and scientific-technological cooperation signed on 20 December 1984, and in conformity with conventions on production sharing and specialization, cooperation between the two countries continues to develop. At the same time, it was noted that there are additional opportunities to expand and constantly deepen cooperation and specialization, and mutual deliveries.

In connection with this, the sides pointed out ways and means to make wider use of such opportunities.

Special attention was paid to economic cooperation over the 1986-90 period, especially to the problem of coordinating national economic plans, and to the long-term trade agreement and conventions of production sharing and specialization.

In this connection, tasks were set for ministries and relevant economic organizations to sign conventions, protocols, and other understandings in the shortest time possible with regard to production sharing and specialization and mutual deliveries in the 1986-90 period in such fields as hydraulics, pneumatics, low tension automation means and apparatus, construction of transportation machines, machine-tools, electronic computers, medical technology, naval diesel generators and engines, high-tension engines and apparatus, refrigeration, electronic parts, medicines and chemical substances, and ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy.

Both sides expressed appreciation for the results achieved by the central planning bodies in coordinating the plans of the national economies of the two countries in the 1986-90 period. Relevant bodies were instructed to act to identify further opportunities and ways to develop cooperation in all areas of mutual interest for their national economies.

The two chiefs of government asked the ministries of foreign trade to finalize, as soon as possible, negotiations and to conclude an accord on trade exchanges between the two countries in the 1986-90 period.

The two sides decided to intensify trade exchanges envisaged for the current year, to conclude the trade protocol as soon as possible, and to speed up contracts for goods exchanges in 1986.

In connection with the construction of projects through joint efforts by the two neighboring countries, projects that are of importance for their economic development and for the strengthening of Romania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria were instructed to continue activities linked with those projects in conformity with the terms agreed upon.

The relevant ministries and organizations in the two countries were requested to continue efforts to develop cooperation in the field of utilizing certain raw material resources in the border area.

The two sides examined the stage of prospects of scientific-technological cooperation and the way the 1986-90 program is being implemented; they stressed the need to link scientific-technical activity more and more closely with production sharing and specialization on the basis of modern technologies, in order to solve problems of the greatest importance for the economies of the two countries and to increase opportunities for exports.

The two sides valued the activity carried out by the Romanian-Bulgarian joint Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation and the results achieved thus far, and stressed the importance of tasks further devolving on it to implement the decisions adopted during summit meetings and to fulfill the understandings concluded during the current talks.

The chiefs of the two governments reaffirmed the determination of their countries to more actively develop multifaceted economic and scientific-technological cooperation in the spirit of decisions adopted at the economic summit of CEMA countries in 1984.

Both countries positively assessed the results registered in developing cultural and scientific relations, as well as relations in mass media and other areas, and expressed their determination to act to further deepen those relations.

During the visit, the two chiefs of government signed a protocol on tangible measures to develop trade exchanges, economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and specialization and cooperation in various fields.

It was stressed with satisfaction that during the visit long-term conventions were signed to deepen production sharing and specialization for the 1986-90 period in machinery, food industry, energy equipment, electronics, electrical engineering, and household appliances, as well as a long-term program on cooperation between joint branches and enterprises of heavy machinery in Giurgiu and Ruse.

During the talks, which essentially dealt with bilateral problems and especially with economic problems, the two sides exchanged views on certain current issues of the international situation.

The prime minister of the government of the SR of Romania, Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Comrade Grisha Filipov, expressed their satisfaction with the fruitful talks and results that had been achieved, and stressed that they will contribute to expanding and deepening friendship and multifaceted cooperation between the two countries and peoples.

Comrade Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, extended an invitation to Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, to visit the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

MICROHYDROELECTRIC PLANTS TO BE COMMISSIONED

AU251245 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1209 GMT 25 Nov 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 25/11/1985 -- Bistrita-Nasaud, a county in northern Romania, will soon be part of the national grid area, as a 22 MW water power plant, now under construction at Colibita, at the foot of Calimani mountains, will be commissioned.

But the first power plant of this county was a microhydroelectric power plant. Built in the valley of Budac River, at Bolovanu, it is the first in a series of similar plants to be built along this river in the next five-year period and which will trigger essential mutations in the whole area, including riverbed development and one of the most picturesque tourist sites in the region.

Two other microhydroelectric power plants -- one at Tomatica on Anies River, to be commissioned this year too, and a second one near Bistrita Municipality on the Homonymous river, are nearly finished.

A survey of the local water power potential showed that by building microhydroelectric power plants one third of the current annual consumption of the county could be supplied.

In 1986, the total power generating capacity in microhydroelectric power plants will stand at 80 MW in Romania.

BILIC REPORT ON LC REORGANIZATION, ELECTIONS

LD182355 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 18 Nov 85

[Introductory report by Jure Bilic, member of LCY Central Committee Presidium, chairman of LCY Central Committee Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions at the LCY Central Committee session on 18 November]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG) -- At each stage of the development of our revolution, the LCY has sought answers to the demands of the moment and has laid down its program and its policies in accordance with that. In the same way, the LC has adapted to its role and position in our society by its method of working and its organization.

Allow me to remind you of the chief landmarks in the development of our movement. In the wake of each social, economic, and political change, the LCY has at virtually every congress further improved its political platform and statute, by which it further improved its political platform and statute, by which it further developed or added to its program, while always keeping to its main strategic guidelines. All these changes found expression in the 1970's in the constitutional amendments, the SFRY Constitution, and the Law on Associated Labor. In addition to these social and class changes, the LC's national policy was evolved and resolved with the aim of strengthening and developing the socialist federal community of equal nations and nationalities.

Throughout this whole period and also at various stages of the development of our revolution, there were vacillations, failings, clashes, errors, and difficulties, both in society and in the LC as well. We also incurred problems and difficulties due to the inconsistent implementation of the set policy. However, we managed to overcome them.

But now some people want to say that the LC was capable of carrying out the industrialization of the country, but is not capable of being at the head of a society which is entering the new technological revolution. Such theses are not just an attack upon the LC alone, but also upon the system of self-management as being incapable of carrying this out. The question arises of what forces they would consider capable of carrying out this new technological revolution in our country. What is really involved here is a failure to accept the self-managing production relations upon which breakthroughs in the development of material productive forces must rest, and which define their social essence and humanist goals. To resolve the contradictions between production relations and productive forces on the basis not of developing social property but on the basis of legalizing capital or state property, would lead us far from our class and revolutionary goals. It would return the worker to the relations and situation of hired labor. Indeed, this new process of technical progress has already started in our country, though on a modest scale, such that already \$50 per capita of the population is spent on the new technological progress, while in Italy only \$70 is spent.

In striving for the most rapid material development of society possible, we have lagged behind in transforming it in a self-managing way, and have fallen into an economic crisis which has given rise to many social, political, and ideological difficulties. In such conditions, the influence of state and bureaucratic forces increases as a compensation for self-management. A lack of confidence in the system is therefore emerging; one which is to a certain degree present in the LC itself and which should also be constantly developed. Stagnation is a dangerous thing.

At the same time, confusion and chaos is emerging on the ideological, political, and cultural level, in this stagnation and lack of resourcefulness. Bourgeois-liberalist and dogmatic tendencies are on the increase, and their protagonists are creating an atmosphere of doubt in our course of revolution, and are bringing into question and seeking to compromise the whole course of socialist construction and its achievements. These forces are acting like enlightened despots, while at the same time their mouths are full of slogans about dialogue, freedom, and democracy. On the other hand, the LC and its leaderships take too long to arrive at a united view on disputed issues, and when that unity of views is achieved, problems arise in implementing the policy. The liberalist and irresponsible conduct existing in the LC offers scope for nationalism as an antisocialist and counterrevolutionary platform. The forces which gather on this platform come up against too little resistance in the LC.

In such an overall climate -- the weakening socialist self-management and failure to fulfill the goals of the stabilization program -- profound social conflicts and inequalities are emerging, all of which lead to an erosion of morale in society, in the economy, and in people's consciousness, and to an erosion of many other values of socialism. All these social and political realities have also had an effect upon the LC and its leadership. The uncoordinated economic development and antagonistic development plans of the republics and provinces are reflected in the lack of LC unity, particularly of its leading bodies. This affects the slow implementation of economic stabilization, while galloping inflation, among other things, creates a foundation for increasing manifestations of nationalism, which tear the fabric of society and relations in the LC.

The situation in society has had an effect on the LC, just as the situation, tendencies, and weaknesses in the LC have been reflected on events in society itself. We have spoken on all this quite extensively from the 13th to the 16th LCY Central Committee sessions, and both before and after them, and we have adopted conclusions. Here I would just like to comment on and emphasize what suggests itself as a reflection of these circumstances and of social practice, for further consideration in the form of new ideas and solutions as we set out in the draft stances on amendments and changes in the LCY Statute.

The present crisis and numerous social conflicts demand of the LC and its leadership that they reinforce their ideological and political role in society. The role of the LC does not lie in questionnaires, "dialogues", or some kind of liberal democracy, but in social action aimed at overcoming the present difficulties and changing social practice. Liberalistic phenomena in the LC and liberalistic tendencies as an expression of counterrevolutionary demands in society provide encouragement to dogmatic and centralist forces. Many stands and conclusions adopted in the LC are implemented slowly and with difficulty because there is not enough unity. There is a lot of opportunism, disregard for democratic centralism, succumbing to dogmatic and bourgeois consciousness, and sometimes even seeking support from that area. The pragmatism, narrow-mindedness, egoistic nationalism, and many other weaknesses, which we discussed following the 13th session and after the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session, called for a reexamination of the established stances in the LCY Statute as well. Although the LCY Statute is not the cause of these weaknesses, we nevertheless also tried to eliminate from it possible grounds for deformations in relations in the LC and in the implementation of its role in society.

The LCY bears a historical and constitutional responsibility, as the vanguard of the working class and all the nations and nationalities of our country, to preserve and develop socialism in our country. If we want to preserve the gains of the revolution, we must constantly develop, and the LCY must constantly reassert itself in this.

Organizing around it all the progressive and democratic intellectual and creative forces, the LC should be the critical consciousness of the working class regarding the government, state, and all the institutions of society, and regarding itself as well. In this way it will be more genuinely linked with the working class and people and will make responsible all creative progressive forces for the fate of the country, instead of simply calling on them when decisions have to be adopted and support given to the leadership. Today, when certain forces which dispute the LC's legitimacy as the vanguard of the revolution are making their voices heard, we see how farsighted it was to build the role of the LC into our Constitution.

The LC has its delegations in the sociopolitical chambers of the assembly system, and Communists are present in all the bodies of the political system and of self-management. The problem which poses itself is what stances the Communists should take in resolving the problems which the delegate system logically puts on the agenda of the assemblies. In practice, contradictions appear between the position and the behavior of Communists. Communists frequently submit to pragmatic and partial interests, sacrificing the interests of the working class and the revolution as a whole. Although Communists reflect the interests of their environment and are inseparable from it both in basic organizations of associated labor and in the municipalities, republics, and provinces, the question nevertheless arises as to how to unite these interests and speed up the process of negotiation and decision-making to make it more effective.

In the positions, the important role of the members and basic organizations of the LC in its work and action is emphasized. With regard to the position of the basic LC organizations there are no new proposals, but new stances are presented regarding the organization of the LC in associated labor, in work, and in composite organizations of associated labor. These proceed from the logic of relations in the generation of income and the self-managing pooling of labor and resources, from its motivation and social character, as well as from the demand for modern production methods dictated by new technology, and from the question of how the LC should organize and activate itself at the present time to keep pace with the integration of labor both in material production and in the overall social organization of labor in the economic and political system. And also, how it should avoid merging with leadership, management, and technocratic structures and the executive organs of government, thereby turning into a bureaucratic usurper of the power of the working class. We have also borne in mind that there should be no creation of other, parallel, independent LC organizations, although there have been such proposals and demands.

We have established the principals according to which the LC should be organized and should work in associated labor. In the basic organizations of associated labor and the work organizations, conferences are elected as organs of the LC from several basic LC organizations. In the composite organizations of associated labor, conferences are organized with a dual role. On questions of common interest arising out of agreements on the association of organizations of associated labor, the conference acts as the organ of the LC, and after its conclusions are adopted by all the basic LC organizations they become obligatory for all. If one basic organization does not accept the stands, the LC leadership of the sociopolitical community mediates in the dispute. On all other questions of an ideological and political nature the basic organizations have the same rights and duties in these composite organizations as do the other organizations of the LC, and the conferences have a coordinating and guiding role.

Modern economic development and the increasingly expanded system of self-management and social organization call for more flexible organization of the LC.

This is why we are putting forward various forms of action organization, both permanent and temporary. In this way the LC should be increasingly present in these new processes of production and social work. The innovation lies in the fact that we are suggesting that from one conference to the next a working body be formed which will convene the conference and concern itself with the implementation of the conclusions adopted.

We have devoted a major chapter in the draft positions to responsibility for work in the LC. I do not need to explain to you why we did this. This responsibility ties up with the chapter on unity in the LC and democratic centralism. Because of the situation in the country, the economic crisis, inconsistency in implementing established policies, political and ideological diffusion, and particularist phenomena, and because of the association of the leadership with state structures, centralistic tendencies among a part of the membership and its leaderships, or rather its leading figures, have come strongly to the fore in various forms and nuances. Hence the demand that the LCY Central Committee should more or less decide on everything contains some danger. We have replied to this question by stressing the role of LC members in the basic organization of the LCY in creating policies and in the control of and responsibility for implementing these policies. We have made use of the experience of public debate following the 13th LCY Central Committee session, and have emphasized the democratic component of relations in the LCY and its leaderships, and have stressed the initiative of LC members in creating its policies. Because there is insufficient creative pressure from the LC members on the leaderships, many of them have become alienated and bureaucratized and as such often come into conflict with each other, disregarding the interests of the members and of the working class. Ruthless relations between people have appeared, particularly in those state and communal institutions in which there is contact with citizens, and there are cases of giving way to anarchistic and arbitrary kinds of behavior.

We have devoted particular attention to relations between republic and provincial organizations and leaderships and the organs of the LCY, especially the LCY Central Committee. Particular emphasis is laid on the stands on LCY unity and it has been made clear which are the questions on which this unity should be guaranteed. We have also examined the principals on which relations between the LCY Central Committee and the republic and provincial leaderships of the LC, as organs of independent organizations within the united LCY, are founded. Stress is also placed on the right of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, which is also written into the conclusions of the 16th session, to influence and bring up any issue with any leadership when congress decisions and decisions of the Central Committee are not being implemented. The present statute regulates the question of who can call an extraordinary LCY congress and when. The commission took the view that the LCY Central Committee has the right and duty, when grounds for this exist, to take the initiative in convening an extraordinary congress of the LC of a republic, a provincial LC conference, and conferences of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. This should all be established throughout the entire structure of the LC organization.

This commission was also critical in its assessment that in matters of culture and education, and in the public information media, popular publishing, and films, tendencies are evident of a restoration of the old bourgeois consciousness and also of dogmatism and fractionalism, which are influencing, in particular, an increasing sector of the younger generation. Where these reactionary tendencies manifest themselves, Communists in basic LC organizations, in self-managing bodies, and right up to the highest LC leaderships, are failing to offer sufficient resistance to these tendencies. Although there exist in society huge forces of progress, creative intelligence, and socialist and communist orientation, these are, however, lacking on the stage of social events, and we are not creating sufficient conditions for them to advance and affirm themselves in a progressive manner.

We are thereby letting slip the opportunity to thwart antisocialist manifestations and conduct a determined battle on the public scene in a broad democratic and creative front.

Hostile forces also want to make use of our democracy to bring into question the course of our revolution. By belittling the liberation struggle of our nations, they want to compromise both the revolution and the leading figures, Tito in particular. Accusations are made against individual nations, hatred is developed and summons to fratricidal conflicts are issued, and we are accused of being the agents of the Comintern, the Gestapo, while the postwar construction was achieved using tanks. Using the slogan that there are no taboo topics, they want to sow doubt and disbelief in all the bright, humane, and noble goals for which our nations and nationalities fought. They wish to create the conviction among the younger generation in particular that our revolution was one based on pogroms. Conservative and reactionary solutions are put forward, while the ghosts of the past are called upon for aid.

This is why we must put a halt to this, so that the younger generation, which is taking over the management of the country, may continue the continuity of the socialist revolution. Unless we do so, it is possible that in the current confusions and errors, alongside the operation of counterrevolutionary forces, diverse solutions may be found which differ from the present course of socialist self-management, brotherhood, unity and equality, and federal structure. In this connection, I should also say that it is our duty to the young generation to explain what happened in the past, for if we do not give the objective and true answers, based upon facts, then others will give answers -- just as they are doing already -- with a different "truth" and with other political goals.

I should like to say here that in addition to the many friends and to those who are in favor of a Yugoslav such as it is, there are those in the world who adopt different strategies. In the main, these boil down to the following: the illusory maintenance of the status quo in Yugoslavia's foreign policy; the elimination of the Communist rule in the SFRY in any form whatsoever; systematic assistance to and publicizing of various opposition groups in Yugoslavia; advertising Yugoslav dissidents, who do not even have to be of markedly anticommunist coloring, but are considered to be better if they are more humanist-oriented; this support is linked with the human rights campaign and the use of certain international organizations to defend political prisoners; assistance to centralist forces in Yugoslavia, and at the same time to separatist-nationalistic forces, for both are the natural enemies of communism and an ideology, all the more so in that according to them the past shows that the idea of nationalism is stronger than the idea of communism; placing exceptional importance on the ideological struggle against communism in Yugoslavia with cultural and ideological infiltration by means of the mass communications media, and by means of films, television programs, pop music, and literature in translation, given that Yugoslavia is in their opinion favorable ground for this sort of ideological infiltration; stimulation of the consumer mentality, for this breaks through all theories of communist egalitarianism better than many political actions, and in this respect the encouragement of sales of those goods which influence the consumer mentality; the development of those economic relations with Yugoslavia which bring the country into dependence, debts being of exceptional significance here; activities among Yugoslav citizens who are returning to the homeland after working and living abroad; the erosion of Yugoslavia's international prestige on the international level and splitting of the Nonaligned Movement; the dramatization of social differences, unemployment, and social insecurity in Yugoslavia; frightening the people with tendencies toward capitalization and a restoration of the bourgeois system.

Depending on the ideological portents, these strategies take account of differing social strata.

The best allies of some are the wealthier strata of Yugoslav society, first and foremost the so-called liberal intelligentsia, who have an interest in alleged individual liberties, unlimited freedom of the press, and artistic creativity; who are to be encouraged and given support, though their activities and that support have also given rise to reprisals from the ruling Communists. Others, again, count on the allegedly unprivileged sectors of society, the poorer strata, as well as on so-called healthy Communist forces and, in fact, upon all dogmatically oriented forces.

The Central Committee and the LC as a whole must assess how much of all this is being carried out in Yugoslavia, and must come to agreement on how to prevent these tendencies.

Bearing all this in mind, the proposed positions for drawing up the LCY Statute lay particular stress upon the LCY's duty to conduct a struggle against all anti-self-management, antisocialist tendencies and manifestations in our society. We must make a clear distinction between the recognition of a multiplicity of self-managing interests and attempts to create a pluralist ideology and policy, both in the LC and in society as well. In addition, we must resist tendencies to turn the LC into a pragmatist, opportunist and social-democratic organization, at the same time resisting tendencies and deformations leading to a monolithic bureaucratic centralism.

We have also tried to clear up the views and misunderstandings regarding the sovereignty of the LC in the republics and provinces, whether the LC is a league of leagues, whether the principles of consensus and the imperative mandate is being introduced into it, and so forth. In determining the essence of LC unity we proceeded from the principles of relations in the LCY which have applied hitherto, and from the existence of the republican and provincial organizations and their mutual relations, but we also took as our point of departure the unity of the production relation expressed in self-management and the unity of interests of the working class as a factor of unity and linkage in the country, and the role of the LC as the vanguard in that. There were various extremes here, too. There was the call for a single LCY Statute, without separate statutes for the republics and provinces LC's, and then for the title "LCY in the socialist republics and provinces" to be introduced; for it to be proclaimed that an LC member is first of all a member of the LCY and then a member of the LC of the republic and province; for the statute of the LC of the republics and provinces to be ratified by the LCY Central Committee, in the same way as a statutory decision of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army is; for the Commission for Statutory Questions of the LCY to assume the functions of the former control commissions, and so on. All this demonstrates just how many ideological differences are manifesting themselves in the interpretation of relations within the LC and in views on democratic centralism. All this should be borne in mind in the preparations for the 13th LCY Congress.

Regarding the organization of the top level of the LCY, it has been proposed, basically, that the solutions which have hitherto applied should be maintained, but here, too, we propose a number of additions and innovations. There has been quite a lot of debate over elections to the LCY Central Committee. The commission has come up with one proposal and an alternative. Just as they do now, the republican congresses and provincial conferences of the LC and the conference of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army would select candidates, or members of the LCY Central Committee, in such a way that there would as a rule be several candidates on the list who would be elected by a secret ballot. This would also apply to all lower organs of the LCY. The stance that there should as a rule be more than one candidate evolved because some leaderships and environments in which there is a composite national structure considered that national equality might be violated in the election of individual leaderships, or that unprincipled divisions on a national basis might come about. The decision on how to implement this principle is therefore left to the elective body itself.

The proposal is that a set number of candidates, or members of the LCY Central Committee elected at republican congresses, provincial conferences, and the conference of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, should be put forward at the LCY Congress, and that members of the LCY Central Committee should be elected by secret ballot from such a list.

The alternative exists of verifying the list by open ballot at the LCY Congress. It was pointed out here that the ratios should not be upset by the national, social, and age structure of individual organizations. It was also emphasized that owing to our real relations in leaderships regarding the nomination of individual candidates, obstructions might be raised; that the majority of candidates for the LCY Central Committee would not be known to the congress delegates; and a series of other arguments were put forward which should be seriously taken into account when adopting decisions. As can be seen from the report, the commission has opted for the first proposal.

The number of LCY Central Committee members was also debated. Initially, the commission took up the stance that in accord with the role of the LCY Central Committee, there should be fewer members of the Central Committee than there have been hitherto, but the actual number is to be specified by the Central Committee. The aim is to facilitate the practical functioning of work in the Central Committee, to enable debates to be conducted more effectively and decision-making to be carried out efficiently at sessions, to avoid the holding of formal debate and monologues, and to create the opportunity for broader debate and mutual explanations, and the submission of arguments through discussion, whereby better stances and conclusions can be reached. Creative initiative will thus be much greater, and responsibility for stances and their implementation in practice will likewise be enhanced. In this way the LCY Central Committee will resolve current tasks more effectively. Contradictory opinions were also expressed, to the effect that the present number permits the expression of representatives of all the nationalities, social and age structures which should be in the LCY Central Committee. Suggestions were also put forward that presidents of the presidiums of the republican LC central committees and of the provincial conferences and of the conference of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army should be ex-officio members of the LCY Central Committee, all the more so in that it is proposed that the presidents of the republican LC central committees and of the provincial conferences should not be ex-officio members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Concerning the LCY Central Committee Presidium, it in principle maintains the same role -- namely, that of the Presidium as the political executive organ of the LCY Central Committee -- but there are new ideas here, too. The Presidium's relation to the LCY Central Committee as the executive organ has been developed. Although the LCY Central Committee would be the chief political leadership center of the LCY, in which the LCY's role would be created to accord with the role which the LC has in society, it would to a greater extent than now be a place where social practice is synthesized, and where on the basis of this stances would be adopted which would be binding for the entire LCY. There were calls in the discussion in the commission, too, for the LCY Central Committee to be stronger. This is indisputably necessary. But explanations were asked for, in regard to what a stronger Central Committee means. The Central Committee should not have a monopoly upon the minds of all society. Many other sociopolitical organizations, institutions' self-managing and delegate bodies, scientific institutions, and many scientific and expert creators, which the LC should make more active, but they, too, have their own autonomous role in society. Accordingly, while resting upon all social forces, the Central Committee should be the political center where all these initiatives and syntheses merge, and in which all that collective creative energy should find expression regarding the vital questions of society's development.

It is also stressed that the LC should have more commissions to gather together a broader circle of creative workers, and that these commissions should have greater importance than hitherto. It should also be borne in mind that we have social councils which we should also discuss, because some say that they are not playing the role intended for them. This is why the LCY Central Committee Presidium must form individual working groups to resolve current issues on which the councils have for a long time been unable to adopt stands.

Then there are the Marxist centers whose work should also be examined because they are not sufficiently orientated toward an analysis of social practice and phenomena, and do not provide adequate solutions for the present period.

The Center for Strategic Research was recently established, and we should look at how to make use of that. There are also many other scientific institutions involved with social sciences, but it has been shown that they have largely served specific, and particularly republic and provincial leadership in affirming their stances. We should also question why our scientific institutes of history, economics, language, culture, and so on express fragmentary and mutually contradictory standpoints.

Naturally the situation in the LC and its leaderships reflects on all this. There has come about a disintegration of scientific thought on many questions, a disintegration of scientific institutions and bodies needed by the leaderships in the organs of the federation and the LCY. Work is being carried out arbitrarily and unprofessionally.

It appears that here, too, we should look for the place and role of the Central Committee and its Presidium, although the present situation calls for a stronger role for the LC and its leadership in guaranteeing practical policies, and answers to open questions which should normally be supplied by the institutions of the system and other sociopolitical organizations, some of which are perhaps in a crisis, our aim and long-term orientation should not be that the LC should replace these institutions.

I have said that we have decided that the Presidium should remain the political-executive body with emphasis on its executive functions. We believe that the Presidium should work out, initiate, and organize the analysis of social practice and specific social phenomena and issues, but also that it should do more to guarantee the implementation of policies. This does not mean that the Presidium and the Central Committee should take over the functions of the other federal organs. Here their tasks could be distinguished in their procedural rules and through mutual coordination. This is why we are suggesting that the Presidium should be permanently more under the influence of the Central Committee, and that the Central Committee should be kept abreast of its work.

We suggest that the Presidium regularly inform the Central Committee at each of its sessions about important issues from its sphere of work and that it inform the Central Committee of all disagreements and differences, particularly those which have a significant influence on the ease with which party policies will be implemented. The Presidium should also inform the Central Committee more frequently of difficulties in the implementation of policies, particularly in certain parts of the LC, where the Central Committee should be involved. This is particularly true in cases where there are more serious political problems.

The view of the commission is, also, that the Presidium should inform the members of the Central Committee of all more important questions prior to its sessions. There are also conflicting views on this to the effect that it would mean too much communication on paper and too much administration. We are also proposing that it should be included in the statute that the LCY Central Committee should be the place where the political coordination of the organs of the federation is carried out, and that for practical and operational reasons the Central Committee should authorize the Presidium to carry out the necessary political coordination. We believe that in this way we will transfer to the Central Committee the functions which the President of the LCY had in this.

With regard to the length of the mandate of LCY Central Committee members, there should remain as they are in the present statute, except that there should also exist the alternative that the mandate can be reduced, without the possibility of a third term, according to a separate procedure. The extension of the mandate for a third time can be explained by the current circumstances. It is considered that it is still necessary for certain cadres with great experience, who have established themselves more and shown ability in their work, to realize continuity alongside younger cadres who will be elected into the Presidium. The view is that the mandate of the Presidium and of the Central Committee should be linked to the submission of a report on its work once a year, in which the work of the Presidium is assessed and approved, particularly since the mandate of the president of the Presidium lasts for 1 year.

There were also differing views on these questions, with some thinking that the Presidium should be transformed into an executive body of the Central Committee, that the president of the Central Committee who would politically coordinate the work of the executive body of the Central Committee and the chairman of the commission should be elected. The commission decided on the former stance. The term of the mandate of the presidents of the republic LC central committees and of the provincial LC conferences is controversial. It is suggested that, as a rule, the mandate should last for 2 years, but there are those who believe it should last for only 2 years and those who think it should last for 2 plus 2 and that it should be left to the republic and provincial organizations to resolve this in their statutes, with the provision that the mandate should not last for more than 4 years. As far as the executive secretaries are concerned, it is considered that they should maintain this function and that their mandate should last as long as that of the members of the Presidium. There were also differing views on this matter.

It is suggested that an LCY conference, as a method of work, should be held at least once in the intercongress period. There are opinions which say it should be held every year and have greater authority, and thus have more the function of the membership influencing the work of the LCY and its Central Committee.

We have also established the relationship between the LCY statute and the republic and provincial statutes and the statutory decisions in the organization of the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army. We propose a change in the structure of the LCY statute, arising out of a logical integration, although the chapters in the current statute would remain the same. Of our program aims, only the most essential would be included in the statute, and this would be shortened, made clearer, and set out as it was agreed at the 12th LCY Congress.

Finally, I would like to briefly inform you that the commission had before it many proposals, stands, and assessments; that it kept in mind above all the demands of the all-party debate, the conclusions of the 16th and other sessions of the Central Committee; and that we also obtained the stands of the appropriate commissions of the central and provincial committees.

A very broad circle of public, scientific, and political workers took part in the work of the commission. There were also consultative meetings. We drew up a comparative analysis of all the changes and amendments in the LCY Statute from the 6th to the 12th LCY Congress and an analysis of the language and content of the present statute.

Throughout this work we strove to devote the necessary attention to every proposal and opinion, and to examine it from all angles in the context of a serious analysis of the state, organization, practice, and activity of the LC, with the basic aim of opening up new possibilities for more successfully implementing the role and place of the LCY in our society.

SFRY, HUNGARY DEPUTY PREMIERS HOLD TRADE TALKS

LD231614 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2016 GMT 22 Nov 85

[Text] Janez Zemljarić, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, and Hungarian deputy premier Jozsef Marjai, with their aides, met in Subotica this evening to discuss economic cooperation between the two countries and the measures aimed at expanding bilateral economic cooperation in the next 5-year period.

The two deputy premiers stated that everything they agreed on during their last meeting had already been realized or was in the process of being implemented. There has been considerable increase in the trade and local border trade between the two countries. In the next 5-year term, even more importance will be attached to these issues. It was suggested this evening that banks from both countries should participate in the local border trade and that payments for goods should be done through special accounts.

Zemljarić and Marjai paid most attention to cooperation in power supply. In this context they discussed the partial link between the two countries' power generating systems, the Hungarian gas pipeline which Yugoslavia uses to export gas from the USSR and the construction of cascades on the River Drava. The two sides also agreed that there was a need for joint oil prospecting in the border areas.

The Hungarians showed an interest in Yugoslav coal and the possibility of having their coal coked in our country. They were also interested in the construction of a joint Yugoslav-Hungarian railway station near Subotica. This project, accepted by both sides long ago, is expected to be completed during the next 5-year plan.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL POSTPONES KOSOVO DEBT PAYMENTS

AU192128 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 85 p 1

[Text] At its session yesterday the Federal Executive Council, chaired by Dr Mijat Sukovic, examined the possibilities and ability of the Kosovo associated labor organizations to repay their liabilities due to the federal fund for the development of insufficiently developed republics and provinces. It was concluded that the organizations of associated labor in the Province of Kosovo do not possess the means for repaying these liabilities to the federal fund. Taking this into consideration, the Federal Executive Council decided to suggest to the SFRY Assembly to postpone until after 1990 the repayment of annuities on the federal fund loans for the development of insufficiently developed republics and provinces dating back to 1982, 1983, 1984, and 1985. The value of the annuities is 1.8 billion Yugoslav dinars.

MACEDONIAN NATIONALISTS RECEIVE PRISON SENTENCES

LD231556 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 23 Nov 85

[Text] Skopje, 23 Nov (TANJUG) -- The 5-man bench of the Skopje District court, presided over by Tanas Jankovski, today publicly sentence on six people charged with associating for the purpose of hostile activity, who in the period from 1970 to 1974 planted and activated powerful explosive devices in six public places in Skopje, endangering the lives of citizens and social property.

Slave Vasovski, 54, was 14 years imprisonment; Todor Georgiev, 56, to 13 years; Nikola Sazdovski, 60, and Slave Boskovski, 60, to 12 years; and Pandil Stevovski, 60, to 11 years.

The accused committed criminal acts under Article 136, Section One, also under Articles 114 and 125 of the SFRY Criminal Law. All these acts are also punishable under Article 139, Section One, of the same Criminal Law.

The sixth member of this hostile group, Jovan Kotevski, 53, was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment for the criminal act punishable under Article 136, item 2, and also Article 114, of the SFRY Criminal Law.

The condemned have the right to appeal against the sentences to the Supreme Court of Macedonia.

According to the verdict, the member of this hostile group had been acquainted for some time and had been discussing the position of the Macedonian nation and the threat to it from the non-Macedonian population. They had discussed in particular the need for the annexation of the Pirin and Aegean parts of Macedonia. They also advocated the separation of the SR of Macedonia from the SFRY, which the accused denied. They were also opposed to the Serbian press sold in Macedonia.

In the course of the trial, on the basis of the indictment and the hearings of the accused and the witnesses, it was established that the first five had formed the hostile group in 1970, and were joined somewhat later by Kotevski, who accepted their hostile activity out of the same convictions.

According to presiding Judge Jankovski, the accused associated with hostile intent, aiming at anti-constitutional changes to the federal state system. In order to achieve these aims, Vasovski, Georgiev, Boskovski, Sazdovski and Stevovski held several meetings in Skopje at which they agreed to take action in planting explosive devices at previously determined locations.

The prepared the explosive devices and planted them in the branch office of POLITIKA, in the building where the French Cultural Center is located, in front of the former Greek Consulate in Skopje, in front of the building of the Islamic religious community of Macedonia, near the underpass on Bulevar Jugoslaviya, and in front of the house where the former head of the Islamic religious community lived. In doing so they placed the lives of many people in danger, caused damage to property, and one person was seriously injured.

The trial of this hostile group began on 14 November and was closed to the public. Today the sentence was passed in the presence of journalists and members of the families of the accused.